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1 Speer, Rev. William: China and California.

2 Harte, Francis Brit. - The Heathen Chinee.
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* written for the Overland Monthly.

3 Sargent, Hon. A.A. Chinese immigration.

5 Kwang, Chang Ling - The Chinese question.

6 Whitney, James A. The Chinese and
Chinese question.

7 Chinese in California; Description of
Chinese life in San Francisco illustrated
by Voegtlin. (c by J.P. Dawson '52)

8 Musgrave, Curt. Abel. - The cholera in
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9 Ryer, Washington M. M. W. M. - 1
The conflict of races.

*4 Davis, Horace. Chinese Immigration.

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CHINA

AND

CALIFORNIA;

THEIR RELATIONS,

PAST AND PRESENT.

A LECTURE,

IN CONCLUSION OF A SERIES IN RELATION TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE,

DELIVERED IN THE

STOCKTON STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 28, 1853.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM SPEER,

MISSIONARY TO THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

1853.

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NOTICE.

This Lecture is printed in consequence of numerous requests to that effect from highly respected friends, and gentlemen interested in the Missionary cause, who have desired thus to have a means of aiding to awaken a still warmer and wider concern for the temporal and spiritual welfare of that Chinese population, by the wonderful providence of God, thrown into our midst. It should be added, that the materials for it were obtained, in a large degree, from an article I had published, with the same end, in the "Princeton Review," for January, 1853; and also, that the entire Lecture, for the satisfaction of readers, has been written out in more detail than was attempted in its delivery, and some new matter added in conclusion. W. S.

JOHN O'MEARA, PRINTER, 132 CLAY STREET.

CHINA AND CALIFORNIA.

The honor of having discovered and populated this New World has been as much disputed as the birth-place of Homer. The Jews, the Phenicians, the Northmen, the Welsh, the Kamschatkans, the Japanese, the Chinese, have all found able advocates to assert their consanguinity with its inhabitants, either from the evidence of their own legends, or from the manners and institutions of the races disclosed here on the arrival of the explorers from Spain. Perhaps, all those nations, and more too, assisted in peopling the various coasts of this vast continent. And yet the mass of these numerous tribes must have been, it is generally admitted, of Asiatic origin. Whence were they probably derived?

When the discoverers of America landed on its Eastern coast, in the fifteenth century, they were astonished and enraptured to behold a land like paradise to their eyes, of boundless wealth in the precious metals and in its agricultural productions, inhabited, as they describe, by a people of gentle, poetic and luxurious manners, though empurpled and enervated by the tropical sun under which they lived. Not unlike their emotions are ours, the pioneers of future power and wealth on the Pacific shores, as we traverse these valleys of unexampled beauty and fertility, and these mountains filled with gold, and meet here the unexpected descendants of the same division of the human family, that is, the emigrant Chinese. Between them and the Indian race of North and South America there exists even now some resemblance, but the contrast is still greater. The progenitors of our aborigines doubtless consisted of portions of the rude maritime population of the Asiatic coasts, cast hither by the currents and winds of the ocean; some, perhaps, as we are told in the traditions of the Tartars, even upon cakes of ice. The Chinese in this country, are chiefly, it is true, members of the laboring class—not *caste;* there is no caste there; the founder of the last dynasty was a shepherd. But their national superiority is manifest when we see some of a higher order, more worthy to be entitled "Celestials," who step ashore in satin shoes, with white soles of paper, and float through our streets in gowns of silk, waving fans paint-

ed with extracts from poets two thousand years prior to Chaucer, and philosophers perhaps as much earlier than Pelagius; many of them merchants of wealth, erect with the aspect of intelligence, refinement and enterprise. As our intercourse with that wonderful empire becomes more intimate and free, there will be brought to our country many that are gentlemen in their address, scholars in their own polished and extensive literature, as shrewd traders, and as acute diplomatists, as the Yankees themselves. The Chinese well merit the soubriquet of the "*Yankees of the East.*"

The question is asked with wonder, whence came these men? We reply, from an empire as ancient as that of Nineveh, as civilized as that of Egypt, as wealthy and as controlling in the politics of the globe as Great Britain; one that has stood from an early period after the deluge, almost unknown to the fickle history of all the nations with which we have been acquainted, but ever-augmenting, till it is now the most populous that ever existed, and covers an area greater by one half than the whole continent of Europe.

The first topic we propose to consider is that of the origin of the former and now fast fading populations of America—a question of, to us, great historical interest; and one, too, the examination of which will aid us to understand better the social and religious characteristics of both the empire existing on our opposite shore, and of that whose desolate monuments alone remain, on the soil of the republics of the West, to tell us how great, and civilized, and interesting, its subjects were.

Western nations claim to have discovered America some three hundred and sixty years ago. But there is reason at once to presume that it was subjects of the Chinese Empire, either Tartars or Chinese, that at first disturbed its vast solitudes with the sounds of the human voice, and who planted on its soil imperishable monuments of human industry. Place the newly arrived Chinaman and the Indian side by side, and you observe the same complexion. Listen to the tongue of the latter, and while most of the dialects have partaken more of the Tartar original, a Chinese element also may be traced. For instance, the Otomi language, which covered a wider territory than any other but the Aztec among the nations of the Western part of our continent, is said to exhibit a remarkable affinity to the Chinese, both in its monosyllabic structure and in its general vocabulary.

If it be asked, how the Orientals could have first reached this country, a high American authority [Redfield] says: "A knowledge of the winds and currents of the Pacific Ocean will, I am convinced, serve to remove all mystery and all doubt from the once vexed question of the first peopling of its islands from the Asiatic continent, and in spite of the long urged objection of the

opposition of the trade-winds. A case is still recent where the wreck of a Japanese junk was drifted the entire distance to the Sandwich Islands, with its surviving crew; thus completing nearly half of the great circuit of the winds and currents in the North Pacific. But we shall find an additional means of transport near the Equator, which is afforded in the north-west monsoon of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and which is found, according to my inquiries, to extend at one portion of the year as far eastward as the Society Islands, or more than half the distance from the Indian Ocean to the coast of South America." Within a few weeks past, we have seen in this city a Japanese merchant, who had recently been rescued from the wreck of a native junk, in which, after nine months, he had been carried to a considerable distance northward of the Sandwich Islands. When we consider the countless fleets of vessels, of every description, that checker the Chinese seas, it would be wonderful if some of them, by the frequent storms and the great current which precipitates the Northern Pacific upon the American coast, were not landed here; and equally wonderful if some, by the great counter current and trade-winds of the tropical zone, did not bear back tidings of the new world.

That the Chinese had propagated their race and their characteristics on this shore of the separating ocean, is the opinion of many men of research. Dr. J. Pye Smith quotes with approbation the opinion expressed in the Encyclopedia Britannica, that "there are traits of resemblance in the manners, laws, arts and institutions of the Chinese and Peruvians, which, in our opinion, are too numerous, striking and peculiar, to be the effect of chance."

The period when this continent was peopled may forever remain a secret. If solved, it must be from the historic records of the Oriental nations, probably from those of China, which, besides its comparative propinquity, possesses the most ancient and perfect of uninspired traditions. When we examine Chinese history, we discover descriptions of a great land far to the eastward, across the "Great Ocean," which the Jesuits and other interpreters of that difficult literature believe afford proof that California was known to that people for at least a thousand years before its discovery by the Spanish.* The following, a short chapter from

* This interesting subject for the investigation of future scholars, was first suggested to me in reading the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses. (4 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1843). Though new to many, doubtless, it is not a rash conjecture. Humboldt, in the Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain, (vol. 1, p. 101, Am. ed. 1811,) says "De Guignes attempted to prove by the Chinese annals, that they visited America posterior to 458: and Horn, in his ingenious work *De Originibus Americanis*, M. Scherer, in his historical researches respecting the new world, and more recent writers, have made it appear *extremely probable that old relations existed between Asia and America*. I have elsewhere advanced (Tableaux de la Nature, vol. 1, p. 53) that the Toultecs or Aztecs might be a part of those Hiongnoux, who, according to the Chinese historians, emigrated under their leader, Punon, and were lost in the north parts of Siberia."

the Yuen-kien-lui-han, a Chinese Encyclopedia, is a specimen of the accounts supposed to refer to America. It is contained on the 44th and 45th pages of the 231st volume, or book:

"Fusang. The historians of the Southern dynasty mention the country of Fusang. They state, that in the first year of *Wing-yuen* of the *Tsi* dynasty, (about A. D., 499, according to the tables of M. Pauthier,) several of its learned Shaman priests arrived at Hing-chau. These men reported that Fusang lies east of Ta-moh, at the distance of twenty thousand *li*. (Ta-moh is described as a nation twelve thousand *li* eastward from Japan.) Their land is east from the Middle Kingdom (China.) Its territory is great. The name is derived from the *fusang* wood. The leaves of the *fusang* are like those of the *tung;* when first produced they resemble sprouts of bamboo. The inhabitants eat the fruit like pears, and weave its bark into cloth for clothing, and for articles of embroidery. They have no extensive cities (or 'cities with suburbs,' as Medhurst elsewhere translates the same phrase.) They have books, which are written upon the bark of the *fusang*. They possess no armed soldiery, and do not dare to make battle.

"According to the laws of the country there is instituted a northern and a southern prison. Persons guilty of light offences are committed to that at the south: those guilty of the more weighty ones, to that of the north. There may be pardon and release from the southern prison, but none from the other. The males and females in it are, however, allowed to intermarry; though their male children are sold into slavery at eight years of age, and their females at nine. The corpses of prisoners are not permitted exit. When a person of rank is guilty of a crime, the men of the nation hold a great council. The offender eats and drinks before them. When condemned, they bid him farewell, like a dying man, and retire. Then a circle is drawn around him with ashes. Thus, if the crime be of a low grade, he alone is cut off from intercourse with society: if greater, he and his children and grand-children: if of the highest degree of heinousness, his descendants are included to the seventh generation. The name of the king is *Yih-ki*. The nobility are entitled, first, the Tui-lu; second, the inferior Tui-lu; third, the Na-tuh-sha. When the king travels, he is attended by drums and horns, preceding and following. The royal apparel is changed according to the year. In every ten, during the first two it is green; during the next two, red; in the third two, yellow; in the fourth two, white; and in the last two it is black. Carriages are used, with horses, oxen and deer. The people of the country raise deer to ferment spirits out of their milk [as do the Tartars]. Red pears grow there, which keep sound the year through.

Reeds, or water-grass, are abundant; they have peaches also. There is no iron; but they possess copper. They do not esteem gold and silver. When marriage is contemplated, the lover goes to the residence of the lady, erects a cottage near it, and waits, [or, in the Chinese, "sprinkles and sweeps"] for a year. If she be not pleased in that time she dismisses him; but if mutually satisfied, the ceremonies are concluded. At an early era Buddhism did not exist in that country; but in the second year of Ta-ming, of the Sung dynasty [about A. D. 459] five pi-keu, or mendicant priests, from Kipin [in Tartary], went there and distributed Buddhist tracts and images among the inhabitants. Their customs have in consequence been changed."

The name Fusang is not of Chinese origin. It was probably obtained from the natives of the country, or was given to it by the Japanese, a people, says Bradford, in his valuable work on American Antiquities, whose commerce once extended from the Indian Archipelago to the shores of North America, "with which they were acquainted under the name of *Fousang*."

A critical examination of the whole of this remarkable passage reveals but few points of difference between the people of Fusang and what the Toltecs and Aztecs were, or might have been, three and a half centuries ago. The Chinese historian depicts a peaceful people, it is true, with few arms; but such were the Toltecs before the rise of the Aztec power. The principal discrepancy is in the assertion that there were wheeled vehicles used with horses, oxen, or deer, since the use of these domestic animals was probably unknown on this continent. Yet, on the other hand, the Tartar nations to the north of China cannot be intended, as carriages of any kind were equally unused by them.

The reasons for applying this narrative to the people of ancient Mexico are numerous and weighty. It purports to have been derived from several Shaman priests, who came to China in the year 499 of the Christian era. The astonishing analogies between the Aztec religion and the Buddhist might justify those who have pronounced them the same. They resembled each other in their primary ideas of the Divine Being, of good and evil spirits, of the depravity of matter, and of the transmigration of the soul; in their general use of monastic forms and discipline; in their penances, ablutions, almsgivings, and public festivals; in the worship of their household gods; in the devotion of the priests to the studies of astrology and astronomy; in the admission of virgin females to the vows and rites of the cloister; in some of the titles and functions of different prominent deities; in the incense, liturgies, and chants of their worship; in their use of charms and amulets; in some of their forms of burial, or burning the dead, and the preservation of the ashes in urns; and in

the assumption of the right to educate the youth. So the Chinese might justly have classed the Aztec priesthood with the Buddhist, that before the fifth century had extended their idolatrous toils over all Eastern Asia.

Fusang is described in the Chinese narrative as an extensive country, eastward of Japan, at the distance of about nine thousand miles. Only the Aleutian and Sandwich islands lie in that direction short of our own continent, which is not far from that number of thousand miles distant; a remarkable approximation to the truth, when we remember the imperfection of the art of navigation in China. The use by the Aztecs of the bark of various trees for cloth and for paper; their possession of a hieroglyphic system of writing, and of a great number of written volumes, so that the Spaniards have testified that "mountains of them" were heaped up and burnt after the conquest; their skill in embroidery, and the severity of their punishments, are noticed alike by the European and Chinese authors.

There are several additional points which deserve particular observation. First; the abundance of the peach and pear, which do not flourish northward of China on that continent, whose seeds were probably transported hither from China; in the ballads of whose poets they are introduced eleven hundred years before the commencement of our era. Second; there is no feature of our California scenery more noticed by the tourist, than the vast marshes of the *tule*, or reeds, which line the shores of the Sacramento and Joaquin rivers, and the bays by which they debouch into the ocean. The tule seems to nearly correspond with the Chinese *po*, which is probably the reed or water-grass, of the species *typha*, commonly called reed-mace, or cat-tail. Third; it is specified in the Chinese account, that the criminal on trial eats and drinks in the presence of his judges. Of the Aztecs, the historian, Prescott, says: "The judges wore an appropriate dress, and attended to business both parts of the day—dining always, for the sake of despatch, in an apartment of the same building where they held their session: a method of proceeding much commended by the Spanish chroniclers, to whom despatch was not very familiar in their own tribunals." Fourth; the abundance of copper, and the want of iron, is mentioned; while it is said, "they did not esteem silver and gold." Here again we notice a strange coincidence. "The use of iron, with which their soil is impregnated, was unknown to them. They found a substitute in an alloy of copper and tin; and with tools made of this bronze could cut the hardest metals" and stones. The extraordinary assertion that they "did not esteem silver and gold," meets its parallel in the enumeration of the revenue of the Aztec emperor, where the American historian says: "In this curious

medley of the most homely commodities and the elegant superfluities of luxury, it is singular that no mention should be made of silver, the great staple of the country in later times, the use of which was certainly known to the Aztecs."

A final and more complete argument might be presented, if time permitted, from a general survey of the Aztec civilization, and a comparison of it with that of the Chinese. The Spanish priest or soldier who crossed the Pacific from the ancient empire of the East to its counterpart in the West, when he walked its fields, might have beheld the same respect paid to agriculture as a profession, the same dependence of government on the products of the soil chiefly for its revenue, and the payment of taxes in kind; also, similar modes of irrigation to increase the yield of the earth, and large public granaries in which the excess of the luxuriant harvest was deposited for years of drought and famine. In the place of trade he would have seen the same association of merchants and mechanics into powerful guilds for the protection of their privileges and their prices. In the street the coolies bore the burthen that belongs to the horse or the ass; and there were no wheeled carriages. The soldier strutted by him in armour of quilted cotton, holding the bow and arrows. In the workshop he would have been delighted by the same dazzling exhibition of fine porcelain, of lacquer work in wood, of cotton cloth, of a species of silk spun from a worm, of precious stones skilfully cut and polished, and of different metals splendidly enchased. About the abodes of wealth he would have wandered in brilliant gardens, containing collections of plants never excelled by any in Europe, adorned by sparkling pools, and airy pavillions, whose graceful pillars were inscribed with poetic or fanciful quotations. Within those abodes he would have witnessed the same regulation of marriage—one proper wife, with an unlimited number of inferiors in concubinage; the same jealous separation of males and females at their meals; and the same frivolous employment of high-born females in the arts of embroidery, music, gambling, and the toilet. Did he mingle in the social life of the Aztecs, the abundance of sweetmeats at their feasts and the succeeding exhibitions of plays and juggling, the ceremonious gifts, the use of snuff, and the peculiar mode in which the smoke of tobacco was inhaled into the lungs, might have cheated him into the belief that he enjoyed the hospitality of some mandarin of Kwang-tung. Should he converse with a company of students, their attention to astrology, their use of a hieroglyphic and ideographic system of characters in writing, the amazing resemblance of the calendar, and the principle of the annotation of time, which has been so much remarked by the learned of Europe, nay, even as minute a circumstance as the mode of preserving their books, not in scrolls, but in alternate

fanlike folds, would have confirmed his delusion. And how would he have accounted for some things still more confounding, such as that remarkable usage, common to the Chinese and Aztec emperors, of appointing stated days for the public assemblage of their courts to hear something like a hortatory moral discourse addressed to them; or such an institution as the establishment of public literary examinations of prose and poetical compositions, and the bestowment of prizes and rewards to successful candidates?

How can we interpret coincidences so universal, so minute, and so remarkable, save by the presumption of a common origin to the customs, the arts, and the religious institutions, of the Chinese and Aztec nations?* And further, is it not probable from this extraordinary retention of the filial form and feelings, that subsequent to the original colonization there were occasional intercommunications between the separate families? And still again, why should it then be thought incredible that the Chinese Fusang is indeed the American California, and that the Oriental discoverers have higher rights and honors, by ten centuries, vested in this soil, than any European nation?—that the people of the East were acquainted with this antipodal continent in the days of the emperor Justinian, before the overthrow of the Roman Empire, a thousand years before the flag of Spain or England was lifted upon it by Christopher Columbus or Sebastian Cabot?

Our attention has been directed to the question of the first peopling and occupation of the American continent, as one of considerable interest; since both the Welsh claims in behalf of their prince Madoc, and the more reliable traditions of the voyages of the Northmen in the eleventh century, may both have to yield the point of honor to that people who long anticipated us in the discoveries of printing, the mariner's compass and gunpowder, the primary instrumentalities of modern literature, commerce and war.

Let us turn now, in the second place, to the more practical inquiry, what are *the advantages we may expect to accrue from the influx of this remarkable people?* The tide of emigration across the Pacific is becoming so enormous as to arrest universal attention. In the year 1848, two men and one woman arrived from China. In the months of June and July of the last year, there were landed, 11,025 men, and 15 women. There are now,

* Those who are disposed to investigate this alleged analogy in these and other particulars, or who doubt the high civilization of the ancient inhabitants of our Pacific shores, can find fuller illustrations of these points in the original Letters and Despatches of Cortes to the Emperor Charles V, Amer. trans., Let. II, chaps. IV. V; in the various Spanish narratives. of Peter Martyr, Clavigero, &c.; Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I., Book I.; and Humboldt's Political Essay on New Spain, Vol. I., Book II., chap. 6. An intelligent Chinese gentleman, at present resident in California, gives it as his opinion that the Fusang of his native historians is probably America, since it is spoken of as a land far to the eastward of Japan, and that "over which the sun first rises."

according to their own computation, about 25,000 residing in this State.

There are many that will not welcome the Chinese. It is a serious question how we shall receive this new element in our republicanism; we are brought so near to empires so ancient and vast, to populations so immense, long civilized, and willing to emigrate; a commerce so valuable; industry so "cunning" and persistent; and politics and religious sentiments so opposite to ours. It is a question of sublime importance. Mr. Seward's words on this subject are: "Even the discovery of this continent and its islands, and the organization of society and government upon them, grand and important as these events have been, were but conditional, preliminary, and ancillary to the more sublime result, now in the act of consummation—the reunion of the two civilizations, which, parting on the plains of Asia four thousand years ago, and travelling ever afterward in opposite directions around the world, now meet again on the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean. Certainly, no mere human event of equal dignity and importance has ever occurred upon the earth. It will be followed by the equalization of the condition of society, and the restoration of the unity of the human family."

In touching at the ports of the populous countries between India and China, and the beautiful islands of the Indian Archipelago, there is nothing the voyager is more impressed with than the superiority of the Chinese to all other races there, save only the Anglo-Saxon. Were the question of encouraging their emigration put to men of intelligence and enlarged views, such as Sir James Brooke, or Sir Henry Pottinger, or the late esteemed American consul at Singapore, Mr. Ballestier, or should we consult the testimony of such men as Sir Stamford Raffles, or Mr. J. Hunt, it would not long remain without an affirmative. Every one that has marked the course of European colonization in the East, must have noticed the eagerness to secure and increase the influx of Chinese settlers and traffic. The English, especially, have learned the sympathy between a flourishing commerce with China and the prosperity of their various possessions. Mr. Hunt, for instance, says, "when the Portuguese first visited Borneo, in 1520, the whole island was in a most flourishing state. The number of Chinese that had settled on her shores was immense. The products of their industry, and an extensive commerce with China in junks, gave her land and cities a far different aspect from her dreary appearance at this day; and their princes and courts exhibited a splendor and displayed a magnificence which has long since vanished," This is attributed to "the loss of their direct intercourse with China."

Now that the course of events has brought the American people into nearer, easier, cheaper, and more advantageous connection with the Celestial Empire, than England, Holland, Portugal, Spain, or even Russia, can ever hope to enjoy, *shall we despise that for which they have made wars, maintained expensive monopolies, and poured out millions of treasure ?*

First, we need hardly say, *let us encourage Chinese trade.* The possession of the commerce of China and India has enriched the emporiums of Central and Western Asia and Egypt from the days of the Pharaohs. Near a hundred millions of dollars' worth of teas, silks, opium, and other articles of traffic, are now annually carried, in European bottoms alone, along the China Sea ; and an immense trade is carried on, not only by the enterprising Chinese, but by the people of Tung-king, Annam, Siam, Corea, Loo-choo, Japan, and other nations. By the Parsee, Arab, and Jewish merchants that resort to Canton and Shanghai, the cloths and toys of China are carried to the very southern extreme of Africa. We may import their manufactures of silk and cotton, their teas, drugs, sugar, spices and sweetmeats; their porcelain, lacquer, and cabinet wares ; many curious, ingenious and beautiful works of art; and articles of food and merchandize used by the people of that country among us. They may obtain from us minerals, particularly silver, lead, iron, quicksilver and gold ; our muslins and other cotton fabrics, broad-cloths, camlets and other woolens, costly furs, and above all, our inventions, some of which they have already introduced and value highly, such as watches, spy-glasses, military weapons, and various kinds of machinery. And the United States is now, it is worth noticing, in a situation more favorable than her European rivals to realize the advantages of the trade with the Chinese, inasmuch as they themselves are awakened to its importance, and have become the industrious and peaceful agents in its prosecution. The vast results of this commerce, now commencing only, with the East, are utterly beyond all computation or imagination. Mr. Seward, in his recent great speech before the Senate of the United States, inquires : " Who does not see that every year hereafter, European commerce, European politics, European thoughts and European activity, although actually gaining greater force—and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate—will nevertheless ultimately sink in importance ; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."

But the question of main social interest is that of the *emigration of the people* of China to our soil. Shall we welcome the ancient sons of Han ?

It is to be remembered that the "toiling millions of Europe" that have found their way across the Atlantic to the Eastern States, built our rail-roads, dug our canals, tunneled our mountains, macadamized our turnpikes, reared our houses, churches and prisons, carried our burdens and manned our ships, are barred by mountains and seas from those of this remote West. An equivalent provision for the necessities of our vast, rich, important, but wholly unimproved Pacific shore has been made, however, by Providence, if we read it right, in the mission of these Asiatic multitudes. Our own Atlantic States cannot spare a large continued emigration to California. But by the supervision of foreign labor, American knowledge and energy will in time advance California to an equality with the proudest portions of our land.

The first necessity of California is for *agriculturists*. We believe few foreigners can be found superior to the Chinese. With cheap and rude implements at home, they obtain, by assiduous toil, an incredible return from their gardenlike fields. The small annual amount of rain in California will bring into operation their ingenious modes of irrigation. They will enrich any country where they settle by the introduction of many of their own valuable vegetables and delicious fruits. Perhaps the efforts to make ours a tea and silk producing country may then be realized. The English are now using Chinese skill and industry with great success in the cultivation of tea in their province of Assam. And the cheapness of Chinese laborers is an important consideration. In their own country it is sometimes not above three cents a day; among the emigrants on farms in Malacca it is $2.75 to $3 a month. The Spanish are importing thousands of coolies from Amoy to Havana at $4 per month, for the cultivation of cotton. An American traveller among the wild Padang mountains of Borneo, writes, "This valley is inhabited by Chinese, who are wholly devoted to agriculture, and seem contented to receive the treasures of the soil without tearing up the bowels of the earth in search of golden ore. Their gardens afford a rich supply of vegetables of the most luxurious growth, and their beautifully arranged and well-tilled fields of rice, present a pleasing contrast to the utter wildness of nature all round."

We need the Chinese as *mechanics*. Sir James Brooke writes, concerning those who had emigrated to his colony of Sarawak, "Wherever the Chinese are, the sound of the axe and the saw is to be heard in the woods as you approach, and all are industriously employed. They have their carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and house builders; while the mass work the antimony ore, or are busy constructing the trench where they find and wash gold. *With such inhabitants a country must get on well if*

they are allowed fair play." *Why may *we* not be enriched by the splendid products of Chinese art? Why may not the costly porcelain of Kiang-si, or Fuh-kien, be manufactured from the Nevada quartz? Or the rich silks of Canton be woven in the factories of Lowell and Pittsburgh? Or the beautiful gold and silver plate of the Chinese goldsmith, be wrought by them in our own shops? There is a boundless field for the employment of their exquisite and patient handiwork, which has been renowned in Europe ever since the return from Thibet and India of the Greeks under Alexander the Great. And besides, they are quick to learn new arts the advantage of which is demonstrated to them. Even that of ship-building has not proved beyond their capacity. There is stationed at Canton, a fine man-of-war, built for his own government by a native who had been apprenticed to an American mechanic. And ship-building and repairing are largely carried on by Amun, the architect, among foreigners. You may see lying in the Pearl River a small steamboat constructed by a native, after the model of those on the Ohio and Mississippi, though the enterprising builder had not quite enough knowledge of the scientific principles necessary to make the engine go! In future times we may expect the Chinese and other Eastern people to resort to our schools of art. Our Mail Steamship Company has, not long since, generously given suitable employment and means of instruction to a young Chinaman, who considers himself authorized, from conversation with the native admiral commanding near Canton, to expect that he will receive orders for steam vessels from his own government as soon as he is capable of building them. This man has completed in this city, a small model steamer, which works successfully.

The important *fisheries* on our Pacific coast would give employment to a numerous class, whose fleets now sweep the Chinese seas, depositing their spoils for immediate use, or to be salted for the supply of their home market. Salt fish has sometimes afforded a handsome remuneration to American merchantmen, but cannot be carried to China in large quantities from the Atlantic ports, on account of its rapid deterioration while passing through the tropics by the route of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Hunt, speaking of the inhabitants of Borneo, says: "The tillage of the ground and the edible fisheries are often left to the more indefatigable industry of the Chinese. For the exercise of every other useful occupation, also—the mechanic and scientific arts, and the labor of the mines—these indolent savages are indebted solely to the superior industry and cultivation of the Chinamen."

* Keppel's Expedition to Borneo (Harper's, New York), p. 144.

And then new and unanticipated stores of submarine wealth will be developed by those who minister to the luxurious appetites of the Oriental world. An illustration of this point is afforded in the eagerness with which hundreds of Chinamen have commenced to fish along the coast for the animal called by us California shell, or Sea-ear, the *haliotis* of naturalists, which commands in China, for the prepared flesh (which distantly resembles the oyster), 40 to 50 cents per pound, while the shell can be applied to all the common uses of mother-of-pearl in Chinese and American manufactures.

We need the Chinese as *servants*. For patience, docility, willingness to receive instruction, and economy, we have not seen the equals of the Chinese. As yet without Christian principles, they are not always reliable for honesty; but they have still a native sense of honor which makes them trusty in many things. We believe the day is coming when millions of them, as free hired servants, will have superseded, throughout our country, the use of both Europeans and negroes. It is a grand idea to conceive, that Providence may thus christianize them, as the negro race has been christianized amongst us, to go back to the families of China triumphing in the freedom of the sons of God, and joyful possessors and almoners of "the riches of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

There are many in the Southern States of our Union now looking to the influx of this remarkable people with intense interest, as a possible means of relieving themselves from the intolerable burthens of African slavery. We look upon it, in its relation to African colonization, as a providential compensation. Prosperous, indeed, would be the day for the South, when the nerveless "sons of Ham" shall be supplanted in the labors of the field, the factory, and the fire-side, by the subtile and diligent descendants of the old and world-renowned dynasty of the "Han." The South may then, with more hope of success, attempt to cope with the North in agricultural productiveness, in the manufacture of her cotton, and in general wealth.

Finally, we need the Chinese as *miners*. Their difficulties in California have arisen from their diligence in accumulating treasures of the coveted precious metal. We trust, and believe, that they will be settled satisfactorily to all parties. Firstly, this people will occupy the poorer diggings, where Americans would not consider their labor remunerated. Like the Chinese miners in the Indian Archipelago, they will long continue to work sites abandoned by others. Thus they will put into currency gold that would have lain otherwise to be trodden by the feet of beasts in untamed wilds. But, further, they will be employed in large numbers as sub-workers, the laborious reapers, under

American supervision, of the golden harvest gathered by our own citizens. And another consideration is, that the great mass of the slow earnings of these people must be expended here. It is but a small proportion they send away. In the days of Sir Stamford Raffles the average remittance of these miners amounted to probably scarce more than two hundred dollars a year. They obtained about five millions per annum from Borneo alone; of which one-sixth only reached China in treasure. About one million was returned in merchandize, and the same amount found its way to the European markets in India, Java, and other colonies, for piece goods, coarse cloths, tobacco, salt, and other articles. So these economical workers, and this class of consumers and traders, we need in California, as well as the rest of their countrymen.

The Chinese are a heathen, and a peculiar people, as yet to us the objects of ignorant wonder and misapprehension. They will soon be better understood and appreciated. Some of their practices have excited great distrust. They are prone to form troublesome guilds, and unite in a species of masonic fraternization. But this is a natural result of their residence under the tyrannical governments, and among the overwhelming masses of population, which they have quitted. The representation, made by ignorant or interested persons here, of their employment in companies as *coolies*, by great capitalists at home, is incorrect. This can be sustained by statements from the best authorities in China. But they are wise enough to soon understand their danger and their advantages in this country; and the very opposition to them will assist their fusion into the mass of American civilization and progress. We believe they will keep the promise made in one of the letters published here last year. "If the privileges of your laws are open to us, some of us will doubtless acquire your habits, your language, your ideas, your feelings, your morals, your forms, and become citizens of your country. Many have already adopted your religion in their own, and we will be good citizens. There are very good Chinamen now in the country; and a better class will, if allowed, come hereafter—men of learning and wealth, bringing their families with them." We believe the intellectual countrymen of the famous Ke-ying and Hwang Antung will, in time, be christianized, and add wisdom and dignity even to our halls of legislature.

Let, then, the United States, every considerate man will say, encourage the influx of this people. The wisest of the European colonists in the East, from the days of Miguel de Legazpi, who was despatched from Mexico, in 1564, to conquer the Philippine Islands, and was the first to send vessels across the Great Ocean from Asia to America, until the present time, have everywhere

warmly invited and favored a Chinese immigration. Ever since their subjugation to the Tartar yoke, two centuries ago, they have been ready to leave their country in large numbers. Wherever their foot has rested, like the fabulous dragon painted on their imperial standard, they have been the symbol of prosperity. It were unwise to repel or injure those from whose auspices it requires little skill to augur great blessings. They are a proud, a timid, a peace-loving race, and we may scare them away. California, wonderful as has been her advance, may learn a lesson of wisdom from the desolations of once rich and prosperous nations and colonies of the East. "The causes which have eclipsed the prosperity of Borneo, and other former great emporiums of Eastern trade," have been traced justly to "the decay of their commerce," which has chiefly resulted from a barbarous commercial despotism, that put a stop to their direct intercourse with China. This, says an intelligent writer, ended in "first, the destruction of extensive branches of home industry," and to the fatal effect of preventing the annual immigration of large bodies of Chinese, who settled on their shores, and exercised their mechanic arts and productive industry; thus keeping up the prosperity of the country by the tillage of the ground, as well as in the commerce of their ports." For the want of this commerce, many of these lands, once wealthy and prosperous, "have run to jungle," while their cities have sunk down, "like Carthage, to be mere nests of banditti."

But the *scholar*, as well as those who regard only our temporal welfare as a people, has a deep interest in the emigration of the Chinese. The language of the Chinese is to a large degree ideographic—representing ideas independent of speech. Many of its symbolical characters are highly beautiful—as, for instance, that for "leisure, rest," which represents a door, through which the moon is shining. It is, as has been truly said, "a study, which when commenced begets an enthusiasm which is difficult to moderate." It is a mine of boundless riches for our future Pickerings, Websters, and Anthons. In a philological view, the study of this language is important. "The revolution within the last thirty years in the science of philology, is one which for magnitude and rapidity has not been surpassed in the history of the human mind. When the scholars of Europe directed their intellectual vision to that newly-discovered star in the East, the Sanscrit—now so brightly illumining the horizon of philology—they began to anticipate a discovery of no less importance than the means of demonstrating the correctness of those views of the fundamental connection existing between all languages which had long pressed themselves on the attention of critical minds."—Nor were they disappointed; "on the classic soil of the ancient

Hindu, to their astonishment they recognized the scenery of their own familiar homes, and heard the accents of their native tongues."* The correct ethnologist wishes to see this still new and remoter language analyzed, and its affinity proved with those of the rest of mankind; that thus may be more effectually confuted various wild theories, such as that which asserts that the human race originated from three, or five, or fifty, first fathers; each, we may presume, produced from the diverse-tinted clay of his own continent or island, the qualities of his intellect varied by the degrees of chrystallization or stratification existing in its ingredients, and his temper somewhat, we may imagine, modified by his volcanic or his alluvial mold. The Chinese, as a living tongue, may, in the hands of American scholars, be a key that shall assist to open the historical treasures of the yet extant Mexican manuscripts, somewhat as the modern Coptic has helped to open up the ancient Egyptian; and acquaintance with its principles may aid in further decyphering those incriptions on tombs, and temples, and palaces, in ruins, all over Asia, Africa and America, which preserve locked-up authentic records of by-gone races and events, of such a nature as will illustrate God's providence and God's word, and throw a flood of light, like a new revelation over the prior history of mankind. To Chinese writings on the arts we shall be indebted for future essays, like those on the cultivation of silk, and hemp, and other topics, that have been published in France, by the gentlemen attached to the embassy of M. Lagrene; which will afford practical hints of importance to our agriculturists and manufacturers. The students of literature, in general, wish for access into the vast chambers in which the learning of China has been hitherto entombed. We hope yet to see in this country large Chinese collections of books, perused by our own authors, like that of the Royal Library of Paris—where, to quote the words of a distinguished literary character, there are "five thousand volumes,"—containing the best productions of the Chinese, in history, antiquities, philology, geography, mythology, philosophy, natural history, politics, legislation, statistics, poetry, romances, and the drama. This mine, so precious, and yet almost untouched amid so many others that have been exhausted, would itself employ for fifty years the labors of twenty scholars. It has been thought by many that a life-time scarce sufficed to acquire the rudiments of the Chinese; but really two or three years of study will open, to one who is zealous and persevering, a free access to these diverse riches, the value of which only ignorance will disavow, and which a negligence unworthy of philosophers has permitted so long to lie un-

*Nordheimer's Heb. Grammar, vol. 1, p. v.

regarded."* Again, many of our diplomatists and politicians will in time come here to acquire the Chinese language. This holds in Asia a position similar to the French in Europe. It is the court language—the means of communication between the polite, the learned, and the officials of government, among all the populous nations of the Eastern portion of the continent. Where they cannot speak it, they still communicate through it by writing: and it excites the astonishment and contempt of a Corean, or Loochooan, or a Japanese, to meet with people so barbarous and ignorant, from lands so exceeding remote, as to be unacquainted with the Chinese written character. Finally, the day is coming when the presence of the Chinese and inhabitants of other heathen countries in the East will enable our missionary boards and societies to here instruct their laborers in the languages necessary for the important fields they are to occupy.

Now it may be objected that for the realization of such benefits to the learned world we are too far removed from the continent of Asia; that but few of the better educated natives of those countries have yet visited us; and that books are difficult to procure. These are difficulties which time will diminish. And even at this period how much greater are our opportunities than those of the several learned Frenchmen, who, living in France, without ever having heard a Chinese speak, or possessing any one to interpret unusual idioms, and correct misprinted characters, yet have enriched literature with their translations and other contributions to our stock of information. The geography of Corea, Loochoo, and the Bonin Islands, published by Klaproth, in 1832, was translated out of the Japanese, amidst the rigors and wants of a stay at the Siberian city of Irkutsk, by the meagre assistance of a native of Japan, who had been wrecked on that inhospitable coast, and wandered thus far into the equally inhospitable interior. The translations of the Scriptures by Marshman and Medhurst, and many of our tracts, have been made at Serampore, Malacca, Singapore, and other ports distant from China, where facilities were not certainly greater than those we possess. And farther, it may be said, how much have we to hope from the practical, energetic, intelligence of the American character. The profoundest essay on Chinese philology, in the opinion of some capable judges, was written by Dr. Peter Duponceau, president of the American Philosophical Society, living in Philadelphia; the ablest and soundest essay on certain leading religious terms in the Bible requiring translation into the Chinese, is by the Rev. Dr. Boone, an American Episcopalian, at Shanghai; by far the clearest and completest description of the Chinese nation, including in the count all the Jesuit works in two hundred years,

* Remusat; Elemens de la Grammaire Chinoise; pref., pp. xxxi.-xxxii.

is that entitled the "Middle Kingdom," by S. W. Williams, L. L. D., an American missionary at Canton; the best commentaries on Scripture are by American missionaries; and, indeed, when I left China, near two-thirds of the devoted laborers for the diffusion of the Gospel in that empire were from the United States of America.

Thus far, my friends, I have employed a tone of eulogium which to some of you will appear extravagant. You regard the Chinese with whom you have now come in contact with somewhat of the repugnance and scorn which the proud Roman felt towards the effeminate, superstitious, and swarthy Egyptian, from whom yet he derived his letters, his civilization, his theology, and, perhaps, even his national origin; a member of a despised race, whose opinions have nevertheless been as much more widely diffused and influential in the religious systems of Asia and the world as the monuments of its monarchs have been grander and more enduring than those of any other people. I have not dwelt upon the weaker and darker traits of Chinese character and literature. Those you see or know. But I have sought to present a substantial plea, in their behalf, for your respect, forbearance, sympathy, counsel, and assistance, in the various relations they occupy to ourselves in this land, such as may truthfully be urged, in the spirit of fairness and liberality, by any one well acquainted with the character and the capabilities of their country and themselves. I have preferred to advance, for my boldest claims, names you must respect. I might have spoken even more strongly without quitting the cover of their authority.

And yet the poor Chinaman comes here spiritually and intellectually a degraded being. Notwithstanding his native intelligence, and the arts and learning of his country, he trembles with a thousand horrible or absurd fears and superstitions. As he bends over the toilsome spade, he fancies that demons haunt those hills, and watch their treasures, at whose anger, as expressed in the thunder, he is terrified, and would fain appease them with incense and cakes. Not a whisper of the wind, nor the gurgle of a rill, nor the bark of a dog, but has some dark significance to the mind trained up in idolatry. The miners in Borneo piteously besought him who approached them in the burning sun, though it were to give them the word of life, not to raise his umbrella, lest the gold should be all dissolved and wash away in the stream. The torture of the soul thus under the influence of Satan is beyond the conception of those who have never observed its horrible evidences in a heathen country. And these men come here wholly ignorant of the true God, and judgment, and eternity. They will bring here the gods of hills and streams, of storms and fire, of paradise and hell; and deluded by the enemy of souls, they

will here bow down and worship them, instead of Him who is "God over all, blessed forever."

But why has the "Most High, who divideth the nations their inheritance," and "sets their bounds," brought these people of China to our shores? Let the last topic for our consideration be *the benefits they may be expected to derive, and the duties we owe them.* It need scarce be shown that, in the first place, this quick and imitative people will seek to become acquainted with our arts and sciences. How boundless the field which the energy of recent discovery and invention opens up before them. Steam vessels will, in the course of time, link the United States with the leading ports of China, and will bear their cargoes to the heart of the empire, on the bosom of the Yang-tzi-kiang, the Yellow, the Pearl, the Min, and other great rivers; railroads will connect the countless cities on all those beautiful plains; our modern improvements and manufactures will be scattered all over every province, and thence over the neighboring countries. We will thus do for China what England is doing for India. And as England will, ere long, possess a line of telegraphs connecting Calcutta with London, and, as there is reason to expect, also with New York; so we in turn will stretch the electric circle round the world, waking up to life, and sending streams of glorious light and energy into its long-slumbering nations. No heathen people will start in the career of knowledge and enterprise with such activity as the Chinese. In the winter of the year 1846, three boys were sent from a missionary school in Hongkong to pursue a collegiate course in the west. One returned from ill-health. The other two have so distinguished themselves, amidst many competitors, as to secure leading prizes; the first in the University of Glasgow, Scotland, the other in Yale College, Connecticut.

The Chinese who emigrate here will, on the opposite side of the earth, imitate our social institutions, will adopt our manners to some degree, and be elevated by examples of Christian virtue; and the female sex will obtain through them a respect, and be allowed intellectual and social privileges they have never before known.

By far the most independendent and ungovernable of the inhabitants of that despotic country, it has often been remarked, are those who have been thrown into intercourse with foreigners in the Province of Canton. The most desperate and successful pirates who, during two hundred years, have ravaged the coast, commanding fleets occasionally rising to many thousands, a terror to the whole nation, have been men into whom the energy of foreigners had been infused. And we may expect that the men who are now working in our streets, shops, families, and mines, will exert a mighty influence in moulding the future political in-

stitutions of their country. A Chinese statesman, by the assistance of missionaries, recently compiled a work of several volumes on foreign geography and history. The character above all others that seems most to have arrested his attention, and called forth the warmest eulogies, was that of the Father of our country. Yes! that undying example shall yet mould Lafayettes for Asia as it has for Europe, and the name of our Washington be the sanction of principles of liberty around the whole world.

In the course of years California will have her seminaries of learning. Perhaps first among them may stand the realization of the great desire of the venerable Dr. Morrison, which was urged by him before the people of England, during a visit made to his native country in 1824. He wished to see established there a "Language Institution," where there should be libraries of the literature of all the nations of the world, where natives and scholars of all countries should meet for mutual instruction and information. In a religious point of view, said this eminent scholar, and father of the missionary enterprise in China, it would possess the following advantages:

"1 Amongst the reading population of mankind, a supply of suitable Christian books can be prepared without the risk and expense of the writers taking long voyages, and residing in climates to them insalubrious.

2. Missionaries may be prepared for actual service, and enter on their work as soon as they arrive in pagan countries, and so escape that tedious, and often injurious labor, which they must undergo, where, in hot climates, the helps of acquiring languages are not supplied.

3. Candidates for missionary labors, who cannot acquire pagan languages, will be prevented going abroad, and so the expense of their long voyages, and their useless services, be saved.

The teachers and students of the various living languages of mankind would, in this country, form a centrical body of efficient co-operators, in matters spiritual and intellectual, to whom, from every quarter of the world, missionaries could send information, and from whom that information could again radiate forth in every direction."*

Morrison's enterprise failed. The missionary work was too much in its infancy, and the heathen world too far removed from the proposed centre. Shall it never be attempted here? The pagan empires are stretched beneath our vision, and will soon be brought near our feet. We shall look upon them as the worshipper in the temple at Jerusalem could see spread out within

* Morrison's Sermons and Discourses, pp. 359-60.

a stone's cast the tombs where generations of kings and nobles were buried, and the valley whose soil was gray with bones and ashes of infants burned as sacrifices to Moloch.

We shall here have schools like those established among the Chinese colonists at Singapore and Malacca, whence we will furnish able interpreters like Shaoutih, who is known at Peking from his connection with the Russian embassy, and is the author of an English vocabulary; or like Tsin Shen, who translated and published at London, in two volumes, "The Travels of the Emperor Chingtih in Keangnan." There are two of those pupils now preaching the gospel at Canton and Hongkong. Shall we not have our seminaries where the theology which two thousand years has systematized and perfected shall be taught, and whence evangelists be furnished to meet the calls of churches looking to us for spiritual aid from the opposite side of the ocean?

Printing presses shall be established here, to diffuse useful information, general news and missionary intelligence in their own language, to the vast numbers that shall be settled, or new arriving, or starting back again to their own distant cities, in our steamers and fleets of ships. A project has been on hand for several months, which meets with much favor from Chinese merchants, to obtain a fount of metal type from Hongkong, and commence a weekly or daily journal in the Chinese character. Tracts, books, and especially the Scriptures, shall be printed and illustrated here, as they cannot be in China, in the beautiful styles of modern art, to adorn the abodes of the noble and learned there.

The angelic art of ministering and restoring health to the sick and the wounded, shall be learned in our universities and hospitals. Many an eye that is now dark shall see; many an ear now deaf shall be unstopped; many a form now helpless, broken, deformed, by maladies and hurts incurable by their present skill, shall leap as an hart.

Christian churches, for the benefit of the Chinese portion of our great population, like those for people speaking the different European tongues, already existing in our country, shall invite, on that sacred day which China for so many thousands of years blotted with the worship of Jehovah from her calendar, multitudes to hear the gospel of eternal life. Numbers of converts shall hearken to the story of the cross, melt with the love of Jesus, sit at the board which commemorates His pity to our lost race, join with us in our social meetings for prayer, sympathise with us in the spirit of Christian affection, and leave us on their dying beds, not the awful blank or the despair for their eternal ruin that now attend the last hours of the idolator, but the bright, joyful hope, uttered with the beaming eye of a soul already looking within the vail, and beholding, like Stephen, "the heavens opened and the

Son of man standing on the right hand of God," to welcome them to the realms of everlasting bliss.

It is a delightful thing to look forward thus, as we may, rationally and soberly, to the elevation of the Chinese people here through our instrumentality, to a rank as scholars, as artisans, and as merchants, far above what they now occupy, and to the dignity of Christians. How pleasant to the philanthropist! How still more joyful a thought to the Christian! The result may be a matter of doubt to some. It is not so to the eye of faith. Already we begin to see the seeds of truth and knowledge germinate. I have kneeled with little companies of Christians here, some of whom did not yet know a sentence of the English language; and heard prayers even more fervent than those we listen to in our own religious meetings. I have been gratified with observing in several cases, how superstition has yielded to simple truth, ignorance melted before the light, prejudices changed to sincere and cordially-expressed love and respect. It is a happy work. Better, far better, as the seed of future good, is it, to teach a poor unlettered heathen his alphabet, than to proclaim the gospel to crowds that have long heard, and too often despised it, in the proudest temples our wealth can rear. The christian knows not but that the Saul, who now scorns and scoffs at his doctrine, may one day be the Paul, who shall be honored of God as his noblest and most successful apostle, and plant churches that shall continue and increase while the world stands, in distant provinces and kingdoms where the foot of European has never trod.

Fellow-Christians! how interesting the reflections which these topics—though of necessity most summarily presented here—awaken. The *period* in which we live is one of sublime importance.

Three great eras include the history of man—Creation, Redemption, Restitution. The Son of God is thus glorified, as Prophet, in the long chain of inspired witnesses to His future coming and dominion, and the types he instituted in the preparatory dispensation; as Priest, in suffering, and in working out the great problems of redemption through the sufferings of His people; as King, when he shall reign, with the honors and joys of millenial promise, over our entire regenerated world. The days of the Saviour's humiliation are passing away. He will soon bring many sons into glory. He shall be crowned "King of kings, and Lord of lords." The earth is full of his tokens. Behold the awakening of nations to life, from the stupor of many centuries. Behold the increase of knowledge! Behold the running to and fro. Listen to the rumors of wars; in Europe four millions of men in arms. See the Jews in every land rising to power, obtaining freedom, casting off their unbelief, returning to Palestine, and now for the first time since the Babylonish cap-

tivity is the pure Hebrew spoken in the city of Jerusalem. Behold forty millions of Bibles scattered through every important nation under heaven, and their pure doctrines proclaimed, as by the trump of the angel flying in the midst of heaven, by near fifteen thousand missionary preachers and their assistants, to a million and a half of hearers, on every Sabbath day. In Africa, we hear of a city whose people rise up in mass and give up their idols—"such a number of idols as no one suspected the place to have contained. The people paraded the streets in crowds, carrying the heathen deities in procession, to deliver them up to the magistrates and missionaries." Read the spontaneous appeal recently made by the chiefs of the cannibal Marquesas Islands to send them missionaries, that the same wonderful power they had heard had been exercised elsewhere in checking exterminating wars and vice, might be brought to subdue their own subjects and thus prevent their utter extinction. Above all see China, long-locked with bars of steel, long spurning and spitting upon the proffered gospel of Christ, now seizing and clasping it to her bosom. Nothing since the apostolic age equals this Revolution in its extraordinary origin and progress. The way had been gradually prepared in the disaffection of a whole people towards a foreign, feeble, and ill-regulated governing dynasty. The people were weary of their burthensome and foolish forms of superstition. The gospel, introduced along the coast, and especially at Canton, then leavens the mass. A leader, fresh from the pupillage of American missionaries, is raised up; is persecuted; is protected by the people; fights; advances; conquers; idols are broken to pieces; "the rivers are floating full of them, as if the figure-heads of wrecked ships;" their temples are leveled with the ground; their priests slaughtered; the Bible and Christian tracts scattered through the empire; the soldiery found studying them in their tents; the Ten Commandments of Moses are placarded as Imperial documents on the walls of Chinese cities; the people hail the new ruler with joy; and now a new capital is established at the seat of the ancient native dynasties, not like them supporting idolatry, but planted in the name of JEHOVAH, with the inscription "The party of the TRUE GOD" written on its advancing banners. "China is opened!!" The sick disheartened preachers of the gospel who stood upon its borders exclaiming "O, rock, when wilt thou open?" now see the rock smitten, streams of living waters gush out, and flow to far-off provinces and kingdoms, cleansing away the old standing filth; a tide of life, and joy, to perishing millions. I am aware that there are those who in the narratives of this wonderful work read nothing but the excesses of rebels and thieves. They are like the philosophers of Franee, who gazed bewildered and confounded upon the hieroglyphic inscriptions which completely cover the temples, columns, and

pyramids, that crowd the historic sands of Egypt, until they were led to observe within distinct circumscribed lines the name of the King by whom each was built. These characters formed a key to the whole. And soon every monument became instinct with life; every rock and stone opened its mouth to tell some marvellous legend; and voices silent for untold centuries thundered forth the verifications of Divine writ.

We live in a *country* established of God to be a fountain of blessings to all the kingdoms of the earth.

Two great nations stand forth before the world now as the defenders of the great principles of freedom and of spiritual religion. Be it the mission of Britain from her island heights to pour light into the dark dungeons of Europe. To America is committed a still nobler and grander office. The God of creation has granted us a new and boundless continent, of immeasurable capabilities. He has said, There upon your own sunny fields, from your own luxuriant harvests, mid your own happy and free institutions, provide food for famishing nations, plant peaceful homes for the persecuted for conscience sake, give knowledge and self-respect to the ignorant and down-trodden, bestow the gospel of life and joy to the miserable, despairing slave of priestly despotism. God has conferred on us a still higher privilege. He has selected us to be the agents of the regeneration of the two dark continents of heathenism. He sends three millions of the ignorant sable sons and daughters of the one to be schooled here, and in due time to be returned to their torrid clime—a Christian host to subdue populous nations, whose seething swamps and scorching sands soon lay the pale face low, and even the names of which our geographical inquisitiveness has been unable to ascertain. As this race approaches the completion of its education, the opposite door is opened. Another, but ancient, wealthy, and intelligent, in comparison, is brought to seek of us the same boon. When God would enlighten the gentile world in the Mosaic period, He sent His people to captivity in Egypt, in Syria, in Babylon. But He has given to us a possession containing many and greater Jordans, more fertile Sharons, and grander Carmels. He does not cast us forth, but in love brings the heathen to our doors. He sets them at our firesides, makes them kneel by our family altars, puts them under the care and tuition of ourselves, our wives, our children; that they may be taught gently, and patiently, and in love. It is just as God's angels often are sent down to minister to those He loves on earth, but those whom God loves better He carries to the homes of angels themselves, on high. How much comparatively more easy, pleasant, inexpensive, safe, potent, and complete, the missionary work thus accomplished, than when performed by the pale and lonely laborer in the hot and often pestilential strongholds of pride, hatred, vice and superstition. Blessed the nation thus honored to be witnesses for God!

We live in a *portion of our country* seemingly appointed by God as the spot from which the chief influences tending to the civilization and christianization of Eastern Asia shall flow.

Four cities will in time be the great commercial centres of the world—London, New York, San Francisco, Shanghai—the eastern and western gates of the two respective continents. We may declare of this magnificent harbor, with its internal connections, and its advantages incomparable elsewhere on this shore of the continent, as the far-reaching mind of Humboldt observed in respect to the Isthmus of Panama—it is "a point of the globe destined by nature to change the face of the commercial system of nations."

Here, in our streets, hospitals, and churches, we may see, on almost any day, the representatives of more than thirty nations. You sit down in a ward at the hospital with islanders from the Phillipine, Society and Sandwich groups, with natives of China and India, with subjects of almost every kingdom in Europe, or republic in America, prostrate upon the beds on which the common hand of sickness and pain has laid them, and accessible to the same sympathy, needing the same Saviour, going to the same judgment-bar, with ourselves.

Fellow Citizens of San Francisco and of California! It becomes us to reflect upon the responsibility to God and to the human race imposed upon us by our position and relations. In becoming a citizen of this community each individual assumes his share. Each, voluntarily or involuntarily, sensibly or insensibly, but daily and unceasingly, is adding his impress to the destinies of remote races. Each ray of influence, whether beneficent or malignant, can no more pause than starlight can pause, ere it impinges on some distant sphere. Let us be earnest, faithful, prudent, forbearing, sincere, honest, patient, generous, in the discharge of our several obligations to that Empire, that like a majestic, but long-sick, and almost-dying queen, reaches her enfeebled arms, lifts her plaintive voice, and turns her longing eyes to us, for sympathy, for counsel, for salvation.

Fellow Christians! Do you recognise the providence which has brought you here, and the object of your mission? Let me say to you in the words of an able writer in the East, "The free American emigrant goes to the golden land because he has work there, the beginning of which is seen, but of which few have perceived the end; incited by the discovery of gold, the love of enterprise, the opening of a passage to the Indies, he regards not yet, perhaps, the moral results of his mission; he knows not now the true reason of his journey, or why it is, that in such hot haste he has been urged across the continent. The regeneration of Asia is, we think, the great moral end to be accomplished; for *this*, Ophir has been hidden until the time had come and the men were ready; for *this*, the Anglo-Saxon has been driven westward by

irresistible influences until the *West* looks into the *East*—until the Star of Christianity and civilization, in its westward course, shines into the old places of wealth, population and commerce."

In the effort to accomplish the great designs of Providence, in my own particular calling, the preaching of the gospel to the Chinese, in their native language; the instruction of them in Christian knowledge and our sciences and literature; in attending to, comforting, and alleviating the sufferings of their sick; in furnishing them with a library of our best illustrated books, and inciting them to read our newspapers, and acquaint themselves with our institutions; in impressing upon them, by the aid of scientific apparatus, the folly of many of their own superstitions; in counseling them in their troubles and difficulties, and ignorance of our institutions and customs; in scattering among them Christian tracts, and the Word of the only living and true God; in all these, I shall hope for and expect your cordial and free assistance. It is needed pecuniarily, to erect a chapel, school and library room, and parsonage. It is needed in counsel and sympathy, beneath the burthen of a more than herculean enterprise. It is needed in your personal co-operation in various ways that reflection will suggest. It is needed far more in your ardent prayers to the Almighty Sanctifier and Saviour. My duty is appointed, and for it I am responsible: you have yours.

Gold has brought us here. See the finger of God: "Each of the great revolutions of the world has been marked by a sudden influx of gold." Remember your privilege: "Gold," says Columbus, "is an excellent thing. With gold one forms treasures. With gold, one does whatever one wishes in this world. *Even souls can be got into Paradise by it.*"

May the Church of Christ on this shore of the Pacific Ocean be pure and glorious, in the eyes of the whole earth, shining like the treasures of gold that God has laid in our lap. May it be, in all respects, like that temple of which the Jewish historian writes, "its appearance had everything that could strike the mind, or astonish the sight; for it was covered with plates of gold, so that when the eye rose upon it, it reflected so strong and dazzling an effulgence, that the eye of the spectator was obliged to turn away, being no more able to sustain its radiance than the splendor of the sun. On the top it had sharp-pointed spikes of gold, to prevent any bird from resting upon it, and polluting it. To strangers who were approaching, it appeared at a distance like a mountain covered with snow, for where it was not decorated with plates of gold it was exceeding white and glistening."

Note to Page 5.—Since writing the above, L. W. Sloat, Esq., of this city, has presented me with a coin inscribed, in *Chinese characters*, with the name of an Emperor, "Kwan-yung—Current Money." It was obtained north of the Columbia River from Indians, whose ancestors, they said, got it from people wrecked there before white men came into the country.

FAC-SIMILE

OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF

THE HEATHEN CHINEE

AS WRITTEN FOR THE

OVERLAND MONTHLY

BY

FRANCIS BRET HARTE

Together with the corrected Letter Press,
as published in the issue of September, 1870.

JOHN H. CARMANY & CO. PUBLISHERS.

409 WASHINGTON STREET,

SAN FRANCISCO

LITH. BRITTON & REY. S.F.

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CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

Or the Simplemess of Ah Sin.
As uprited by Truthful James

Which I wish to remark —
And my language is plain —
That for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar.
Which the same I would wish to explain.

Ah Sin was his name;
And I shall not deny
In regard to the same
~~That the misdeeds of same~~
What that name might imply,
But his smile it was pensive and childlike
As I frequent remarked to Bill Nye.

It was August the Third;
And quite dry was the Skies;
Which it might be inferred
That Ah Sin was like mine,
Yet he played it that day upon William
And me in a way I despise.

Which we had a small game
And Ah Sin took a hand
It was Euchre — ~~upon~~ the same
He did not understand
But he smiled as he sat by the table
With the smile ~~of the Angelic band~~ that was child-like and bland.

In the cards they were stocked;
To relate which I grieve,
And my feelings were shocked
At the state of Ah's ~~sleeve~~ sleeve
Which ~~contained all the~~ was stuffed full of aces and bowers
And the same with intent to deceive.

Yet the hands that were ~~boled~~ played
By that heathen Chinee
And the points that he made,
Were quite frightful to see
Till at last he put down a right bower,
Which Nye had laid under his knee.

Then I looked at Bill Nye
And he gazed upon me
And he rose with a sigh
And said "Can this be?"
Forsooth I'm opposed to cheap labor"
And he went for that heathen Chinee

In the scene that ensued
I did not take a hand
But the floor it was strewed
Like the leaves on the strand
With the cards that Ah Sin was concealing
In the game he did not understand.
These remarks upon Chinese free
labor, I simply would make to explain.

In his claws, which were long,
He had twenty-four packs,
Which was cumbersome strong,
~~When back~~ Yet I state but the fact,
And we found that his nails, which were
tapers — like various tapers was wax.

Much is why I remark,
~~In a~~ And why
~~language that is~~ language is plain,
~~That wise old a-~~ ~~-dage~~
That for ways that are dark,
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar —
Which the same I shall ever maintain.

#

"THE HEATHEN CHINEE."

LETTER PRESS.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

PLAIN LANGUAGE FROM TRUTHFUL JAMES.

(TABLE MOUNTAIN, 1870.)

Which I wish to remark—
And my language is plain—
That for ways that are dark,
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar.
Which the same I would rise to explain.

Ah Sin was his name;
And I shall not deny
In regard to the same
What that name might imply;
But his smile it was pensive and child-like,
As I frequent remarked to Bill Nye.

It was August the third;
And quite soft was the skies;
Which it might be inferred
That Ah Sin was likewise;
Yet he played it that day upon William
And me in a way I despise.

Which we had a small game,
And Ah Sin took a hand:
It was Euchre. The same
He did not understand;
But he smiled as he sat by the table,
With the smile that was child-like and bland.

Yet the cards they were stocked
In a way that I grieve,
And my feelings were shocked
At the state of Nye's sleeve:

Which was stuffed full of aces and bowers,
And the same with intent to deceive.

But the hands that were played
By that heathen Chinee,
And the points that he made,
Were quite frightful to see—
Till at last he put down a right bower,
Which the same Nye had dealt unto me.

Then I looked up at Nye,
And he gazed upon me;
And he rose with a sigh,
And said, "Can this be?
We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor"—
And he went for that heathen Chinee.

In the scene that ensued
I did not take a hand,
But the floor it was strewed
Like the leaves on the strand
With the cards that Ah Sin had been hiding,
In the game "he did not understand."

In his sleeves, which were long,
He had twenty-four packs—
Which was coming it strong,
Yet I state but the facts;
And we found on his nails, which were taper,
What is frequent in tapers—that's wax.

Which is why I remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark,
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar—
Which the same I am free to maintain.

3

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. A. A. SARGENT,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

MARCH 7, 1878.

WASHINGTON.
1878.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. A. A. SARGENT.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S. R. No. 20) relative to Chinese immigration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Whereas it appears that the great majority of Chinese immigrants are unwilling to conform to our institutions, to become permanent residents of our country, and to accept the rights and assume the responsibilities of citizenship; and

Whereas they have indicated no capacity to assimilate with our people: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to open correspondence immediately with the governments of China and Great Britain with a view of securing a change or abrogation of all stipulations in existing treaties which permit the unlimited immigration of Chinese to the United States.

Mr. SARGENT. Mr. President, a singular document has been placed on our desks purporting to be Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 36, styled an argument of Joseph C. G. Kennedy, adverse to the bills (409 and 477) "to restrict the immigration of the Chinese to the United States," and "to regulate Chinese immigration." This production, so dignified, emanates from a lobbyist in the interest of the grand slave-masters of the Pacific, called the Chinese six companies. Before I conclude I shall pay some slight attention to its author. First, however, I avail myself of its introduction here, and of the pending resolution, to address the Senate at large on this Chinese question, and incidentally to defend the conclusions of the joint committee of the two Houses that investigated the subject at San Francisco, which are somewhat ignorantly and superciliously attacked in this document.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. SARGENT. For a moment.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. President, in justice to the Committee on Foreign Relations and to myself, and in explanation to the Senator from California, I wish to state that the paper upon which he is about to comment should not have come into this body as a public document. I rose in my place and asked permission to have it printed for the use of the committee. I took that paper and went to the Secretary's office with it, and so stated that it was for that purpose. I think the question was put to me how many copies, and I think I said about the usual number. But by a mistake of the clerk who had it in charge—and I do not know that there is any particular complaint to make of him, for he did not understand me clearly, though I stated it—it got into this body as a public document, where it never was intended to come.

Mr. SARGENT. I am glad that a document of that kind did not receive the intelligent approbation of that committee or their indorsement as worthy to be printed as a public document to be laid before the Senate. My constituents are peculiarly interested in this question. They do not send lobbyists here to enlighten you, but depend on their Senators and Representatives to show to the committees of Congress and the respective Houses the important consequences depending upon the solution of this Chinese question, not only to California, but to every Pacific State and Territory, and perhaps by and by to every State in the Union. Chinese immigration presents in California a present evil as great as any ever ascribed to slavery in the Southern States, and at no period in our history has a people been confronted with a problem more difficult to handle and more dangerous, if not adequately solved, than that which now presses upon the attention of Congress. The recent labor riots in the East may have arisen from mere transient causes, from the temporary depression of business or an unusual morbid condition of the public mind or that of certain classes in society. That which may have been but an evanescent result of temporary causes in the East is a chronic and increasing disorder in California which cannot be put out of sight or safely neglected.

This document contains many misstatements both of law and fact. Some of these are unimportant and unworthy of attention or reply. Some of them are glaring and do great injustice to the people of California. To these latter I shall address myself as briefly as I may.

POWER OF CONGRESS.

The first important misconception of this advocate for an unrestricted immigration of Chinese is that the power does not reside in Congress to pass bills restricting the immigration of Chinese and regulating the same, because a treaty exists between the United States and China which is confessed to be in some of its provisions inconsistent with the proposed legislation. In other words, it is assumed that the Executive and the Senate have power to so bind the Congress of the United States that any evils of any gravity may be inflicted upon the people as the result of treaties, without any power on the part of Congress to review that action or modify the treaties by law. This doctrine is inconsistent with the principles announced in such matters by the Attorneys-General of the United States, with the frequent action of Congress and the decisions of the circuit and Supreme Court of the United States. This concurrence of authority has left no doubt upon the subject. In 1851, Attorney-General John J. Crittenden examined and discussed this question in the light of the Constitution in the case of the "Florida claims," which were claims upon the United States Government for injuries sustained by Spanish officers and individual Spanish inhabitants during the military operations of the American Army in Florida, preferred under the ninth article of the treaty between the United States and Spain, and required by said treaty to be established "judicially." The act of Congress passed to carry that article of the treaty into effect did not make the decisions of the courts conclusive in regard to them, but gave revisory power to the Secretary of the Treasury, who, being satisfied of the justice of the claims and of their being within the provisions of the treaty, was required to pay them. In fact a tribunal was created for the adjudication of these claims, consisting of the judges and the Secretary of the Treasury. The Attorney-General held that it was not the intention of Congress to limit the revisory power of the Sec-

retary of the Treasury to questions of jurisdiction, but to extend it to the merits. This apparent conflict between the treaty and the subsequent acts of Congress to give it effect was considered by the Attorney-General, and he held that even if there were such a conflict the act of Congress must prevail. He says:

> An act of Congress must have effect, though inconsistent with a prior treaty. * * * An act of Congress is as much the supreme law of the land as a treaty. They are placed on the same footing, and no preference or superiority is given to the one over the other. The last expression of the law-giving power must prevail; and just for the same reason and on the same principle that a subsequent act must prevail and have effect, though inconsistent with a prior act, so must an act of Congress have effect, though inconsistent with a prior treaty.—*Opinions Attorneys-General*, volume 5, pages 333, 345.

The same doctrine was held by Attorney-General Ackerman in 1870, in the interpretation of the legislation of Congress and certain treaties with the Choctaw tribe of Indians. By the act of March 2, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to issue to the Choctaw tribe of Indians bonds of the United States to the amount of $250,000. An act of March 3, 1865, withdrew this authority from the Secretary. The authority was revived by the treaty with said tribe of April 28, 1866; and the question was, whether such bonds could be lawfully issued to those Indians. In his decision the Attorney-General says:

> Under the Constitution, treaties, as well as statutes, are the law of the land; both the one and the other, when not inconsistent with the Constitution, standing upon the same level, and being of equal force and validity; and, as in the case of all laws emanating from an equal authority, the earlier in date yields to the latter.

OPINIONS OF CIRCUIT COURTS.

These decisions of the Attorneys-General stand uncontradicted by any subsequent statement or action by the executive branch of the Government. The subject was brought to the attention of the judiciary of the United States in the case of Taylor *et al. vs.* Morton, 2 Curtis, Circuit Court Reports, 454. The treaty with Russia, of December, 1832, stipulated that no higher rate of duties should be imposed on goods imported from Russia than on like articles imported from other places. This was an action of assumpsit, brought against the defendant as collector of customs, to recover moneys alleged to have been illegally exacted by him in the payment of duties upon a quantity of hemp imported from Russia while the tariff act of 1842 was in operation. This act imposed a duty of $40 per ton upon all hemp except Manila and Indian hemps, on which it levied duty at only $25 per ton. There was a conflict between the treaty and the statute law, and Judge Curtis was called upon to decide which should prevail. After quoting the constitutional provision that "the Constitution and laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land," and remarking that "there is nothing in the mere fact that a treaty is a law which would prevent Congress from repealing it," he proceeds in a strong argument, of which the following is the conclusion:

> I think it is impossible to maintain that under our Constitution the President and Senate exclusively possess the power to modify or repeal a law found in a treaty. If this were so, inasmuch as they can change or abrogate one treaty only by making another inconsistent with the first, the Government of the United States could not act at all, to that effect, without the consent of some foreign government; for no new treaty affecting, in any manner, one already in existence can be made without the concurrence of two parties, one of whom must be a foreign sovereign.
>
> That the Constitution was designed to place our country in this helpless condition is a supposition wholly inadmissible. It is not only inconsistent with the necessities of a nation, but is negatived by the express words of the Constitution.

That gives to Congress, in so many words, power to declare war, an act which, *ipso facto*, repeals all powers of all existing treaties with the hostile nation inconsistent with a state of war.

It is true this particular power to repeal laws found in treaties is expressly given, and is applicable only to a state of war. But, in the first place, it is sufficient to prove the position stated above, that there is nothing in the nature of things which requires that the same persons who make the law by a treaty should alone have the power to repeal it.

In the next place, it is also true that the powers to regulate commerce and to levy duties are as expressly given as the power to declare war; and the former are as absolute and unrestrained as the latter. It may be said that a declaration of war being necessarily inconsistent with existing treaties with the hostile nation, the power to declare it is necessarily a power to repeal such treaties, but that the power to regulate commerce and impose duties might be, and was expected to be, exercised in conformity with existing treaties. To a certain extent this may be admitted. But it cannot be admitted that these powers can be, or were expected to be, exerted under all circumstances which might possibly occur in the life of a nation, in subordination to an existing treaty; nor that the only modes of escape from the effect of an existing treaty were the consent of the other party to it or a declaration of war.

To refuse to execute a treaty for reasons which approve themselves to the conscientious judgment of the nation is a matter of the utmost gravity and delicacy; *but the power to do so is a prerogative of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting its independence.*

That the people of the United States have deprived their Government of the power, *in any case*, I do not believe.

That it must reside somewhere, and be applicable to all cases, I am convinced, and I feel no doubt that it belongs to Congress.

Judge Curtis was a learned and honored member of the Supreme Court of the United States. No appeal was taken from his decision to the Supreme Court of the United States, and his decision stood as an authoritative exposition of the power of Congress to disregard or abrogate a foreign treaty. It does not appear that Russia ever objected, and the collection of higher duty upon Russian hemp continued for years thereafter, when, in April, 1871, the same question was raised in the United States circuit court for the southern district of New York, in the case of Ropes *et al. vs.* Clinch, the decision of which is found in 8 Blatchford, page 304, by Judge Woodruff. On page 312, discussing the modes by which a treaty may be rendered inoperative, he says:

So they [Congress] may render inoperative *by legislation in contradiction of its terms* without formal allusion at all to the treaty; and generally they *may legislate as if no such treaty existed, in modification or alteration of what by force of the treaty has been the law heretofore*, thus modifying the law of the land, without denying the existence of the treaty, or the obligations thereof, between the two governments, as a contract, and answer therefor to such foreign government, or meet its reclamation or retaliation as may be necessary.

The same doctrine was held in 1 Woolworth's circuit court reports (page 155) in the "Clinton Bridge" case, where the decision was pronounced by Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court, in behalf of himself and District Judge Love, holding the October term of the circuit court for the northwestern circuit in 1867. A bill in chancery had been filed, complaining of the bridge on the ground that it was a serious obstruction to navigation, and asking its abatement as a nuisance. In reply the defendant cited among other things a special act of Congress authorizing the maintenance of the bridge. In rejoinder objection was raised against the constitutionality of the said act of Congress for the reason, among other things, that it violated the obligation of treaties with France, which in effect declared that the navigation of the Mississippi River should remain free and unobstructed forever. Justice Miller disposed of this objection as follows:

In reference to the first of these objections, we need not inquire whether the treaties referred to were designed to affect such cases as the one before us or not,

for we are of the opinion that whatever obligation they may have imposed upon our Government, the courts possess no power to declare a statute passed by Congress and approved by the President void because it may violate such obligations. (See "The Amiable Isabella," 6 Wheaton, 1.)

Questions of this class are international questions and are to be settled between the foreign nations interested in the treaties and the political department of our Government. When those departments declare a treaty abrogated, annulled, or modified, it is not for the judicial branch of the Government to set it up and assert its continued obligation. If the court could do this, it could annul declarations of war, suspend the levy of armies, and become a great international arbiter instead of a court of justice for the administration of the laws of the United States. (See Georgia *vs.* Stanton, 6 Wallace, 50.)

OPINION OF SUPREME COURT.

These decisions lead up to a conclusive determination of the question by the Supreme Court of the United States, found reported in 11 Wallace, 616, in the "Cherokee tobacco case."

The one hundred and seventh section of the internal-revenue act of July 20, 1868, enacted that "the internal-revenue laws, imposing a tax on distilled spirits and fermented liquors, tobacco, snuff, and cigars, shall be construed to extend to such articles produced anywhere in the exterior boundaries of the United States, whether the same shall be within a collection district or not," and the question was raised whether this provision applied to and was in force in the Indian Territory, embraced within the western district of Arkansas and occupied by the Cherokee Nation of Indians, notwithstanding the tenth article of the prior treaty of 1866 between the United States and that nation, by which it was agreed that—

Every Cherokee Indian and freed person residing in the Cherokee Nation shal have the right to sell any products of his farm, including his or her live stock, or any merchandise or manufactured products, and to ship and drive the same to market without restraint, paying no tax thereon which is now or may be levied by the United States on the quantity sold outside of the Indian Territory.

The case was elaborately argued, orally and on briefs, by able counsel, and the opinion of the court was delivered by Mr. Justice Swayne. It was held by the court in this case that the law of Congress conflicted with a prior treaty. The court said:

Undoubtedly one or the other of these provisions must yield. The repugnance is clear, and they cannot stand together.

After quoting the article of the Constitution which makes both treaties and statutes the supreme law of the land, the opinion proceeds as follows:

The effect of treaties and acts of Congress when in conflict is not settled by the Constitution. *But the question is not involved in any doubt as to its proper solution.* A treaty may supersede a prior act of Congress, (2 Peters, 314,) *and an act of Congress may supersede a prior treaty,* (2 Curtis, 454; 1 Woolworth, 155.) In the case referred to, these principles were applied to treaties with foreign nations.

Treaties with Indian nations within the jurisdiction of the United States, whatever considerations of humanity and good faith may be involved and require their faithful observance, cannot be more obligatory.

They have no higher sanctity, and no greater inviolability or immunity from legislative invasion can be claimed for them. The consequences in all such cases give rise to questions which must be met by the political department of the Government. They are beyond the sphere of judicial cognizance.

In the case under consideration, the act of Congress must prevail, *as if the treaty were not an element to be considered.* If a wrong has been done, the power of redress is with Congress, not with the judiciary; and that body upon being applied to, it is to be presumed, will promptly give the proper relief.

These decisions settle the interpretation clearly that Congress may by law alter or abrogate any treaty whatever, and that if a prior treaty is in conflict with subsequent action of Congress it must give way, and no suspicion of dishonor attaches to such action, the nation with whom the treaty existed being free to take any course known

to international law. Thus England recently made the passage of a law by Parliament subsequent to our extradition treaty with her the ground of her refusal to surrender Winslow in compliance with the treaty. No one claimed that this was a breach of faith. We entered into treaty with England and she with us, knowing that the legislative power of either country could terminate the treaty, and no suspicion of dishonor in the matter on the part of the British government has ever occurred. The existence of such power is a necessary element of sovereignty, and it must sometimes be exercised for the highest objects of self-protection. I shall endeavor to show that the time has arrived when the protection of the people of the United States demands of us the exercise of this power.

CHINESE GOVERNMENT NOT IN FAVOR OF EMIGRATION.

I admit that the nation, by availing itself of the right of protection of its people which exists in Congress by these authorities to pass a law modifying or abrogating a treaty, must be prepared to make such indemnity, if any, as the case may call for, or to defend itself in war against any power which may be aggrieved thereby. The question to be determined in such case is whether the safety of the people should not be imperatively considered rather than the risks entailed by war or the expense of indemnity. So far as the present case is concerned, it seems to be conceded by all that the Chinese government is not in favor of the emigration of its people to California or anywhere else, and will not be likely to object to any law on our part restraining their immigration to the United States. The provisions of the Burlingame treaty are found in no treaty made by China with any other nation. The English treaty did not contain them, and the effusive style which characterizes the treaty is due rather to the imagination of Burlingame and the influence of the extremists of the political school to which he belonged than to any desire of the Chinese authorities to have such provisions in the treaty.

This was the view taken by Rev. O. Gibson, a witness called on behalf of the Chinese before the joint committee at San Francisco. Mr. Gibson had many years' experience in China as a missionary, and is now a local missionary among them at San Francisco. He has written a book on the subject of the Chinese in America. He testified in answer to the direct question as follows:

Question. You think they do not desire their people to come here?

Answer. No, they do not; and I think it will be patent to you when you consider that they have never sent any representative in all these years to look after their people here.

Mr. Williams, for forty years a resident in China, part of the time as a missionary, and for many years secretary of the United States legation, has testified before the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations at the present session that the Chinese government is opposed to the emigration of its people, and that it would make no difficulty in consenting to a disregard of the provisions of the treaty which authorized Chinese travel and residence in the United States. He went further and said that he did not consider that American trade would be injured by the abrogation of the treaty. He considered that the trade would go on as aforetime, the interest of the Chinese being to trade with all comers, whether they had treaties with them or not; that the United States carried on their commerce with China before this treaty in the same manner that it had since, and would do it still if it were abrogated. As I remember, the only value which he ascribed to the treaty was that it enabled missionaries to penetrate into China.

We are to heathenize our own land to facilitate the unfruitful operations of a few missionaries in China.

VALUE OF TRADE WITH CHINA.

The value of American trade with China, judged by the usual tests, is greatly overrated. A country from which we import by millions and to which we export slightly of our products, except gold and silver, is not usually considered a remunerative customer; yet this is the condition of our trade with China. Formerly English and American merchant princes held the field in China itself, built vast hongs, made enormous profits, and lived in imperial splendor. All that has changed. An enlightened observer, who has had peculiar means of observation, Commodore R. W. Shufeldt, one of the ablest and best officers of the American Navy, in a lecture delivered before a society in Connecticut, graphically described the decay of western influence in China, and indicated the cause:

> Commercial houses shaken to their very foundation are but compromising for the moment with their destiny. Every port in China proclaims the departure or disappearance of capital; large residences abandoned; wharves tottering; real estate worthless. All these tell the story of power decaying, and commercial rule melting away. The "merchant prince" is a thing of the past; his son or his nephew may wander through deserted banquet halls, among cracked crockery and dingy furniture, but despite imitated airs of hauteur and arrogance, his prestige is forever gone. "*Carthago delenda est.*" The Chinaman, while patiently playing the *rôle* of servant, has learned the language and tricks of the trade, and to-day he is emphatically master of the situation.

What is true of Shanghai, Tientsin, Ningpo, Amoy, Hankow, and all other Chinese ports, namely, that while statistics prove beyond question that foreign trade has an annual increase in China, yet it is passing away from the grasp of foreign merchants with startling rapidity, compelling these to "quit the Celestial empire under indignant and seedy protest," is true of California, the Sandwich Islands, and all other places where the Chinese gain a permanent footing. They do their own business with China, and gradually seize the trade of that country with the country in which they reside, excluding the native merchants who previously had done flourishing trade. Our great American houses in San Francisco, trading with China, are fast contracting their business, or carrying it on as tolerated and tributary to the Chinese firms. This is a disagreeable truth and perhaps I may incur censure for stating it. But it is no less the truth. The Chinese have the advantage at the Chinese end of the route in buying, and constantly learn to improve their facilities in this country. Their mode of living entails slight expenses on even their most wealthy merchants, and the result is that they yearly absorb more and more of the foreign trade, and get all the advantage for Chinamen to the exclusion of Americans, which it is pretended is secured to the United States by reason of the treaty. Never was there a greater fallacy than that this country should adhere to this treaty for the sake of its commercial advantages to our people.

NUMBER OF CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

Whether the trade of the United States with China is advantageous or not and whether it is in our hands or not, there are considerations above even those connected with trade. Our fathers sacrificed trade to principle when they threw the tea overboard in Boston harbor and subsequently embargoed all trade from or to our ports. It is for the Senate to consider if any consequence that can be predicted from the passage of bills restricting Chinese immigration is so grave as that of the heathenizing of the western coast of the United States, the

substitution for the Anglo-Saxon civilization, which would otherwise grow up there, of the pagan civilization of China. This anticipation is not fanciful. It is sustained in the judgment of the joint special committee of the two Houses, who took extensive testimony upon the subject in San Francisco during the last Congress. It is feared by many of the most intelligent people of the Pacific States and Territories. The lowest statement of the number of Chinese at present in California cannot be less than one hundred thousand, almost without exception adults, and in number as great as the whole number of adult white male population of the State. Alfred Wheeler, a witness for the Chinese, made up an estimate of the arrivals and departures of the Chinese at San Francisco from the custom-house records, making the net number October 1, 1876, 93,963. His table was as follows:

Table showing the annual arrivals and departures, as shown by the San Francisco custom-house records, of Chinese to and from California by sea from 1848 *to October* 1, 1876, *with estimated deaths and departures inland to other States and Territories, and the total present Chinese population in the State of California.*

	Arrivals.	Departures.	Gain.	Loss.
From 1848 to 1852	*10,000	.....	*10,000	.....
1852	20,026	1,768	18,258	.....
1853	4,270	4,421	.....	151
1854	16,084	2,330	13,754	.....
1855	3,329	3,473	.....	144
1856	4,807	3,028	1,779	.....
1857	5,924	1,932	3,992	.....
1858	5,427	2,542	2,885	.....
1859	3,182	2,745	437	.....
1860	7,343	2,088	5,255	.....
1861	8,424	3,594	4,840	.....
1862	8,188	2,795	5,393	.....
1863	6,435	2,947	3,488	.....
1864	2,696	3,911	.....	1,215
1865	3,097	2,298	799	.....
1866	4,242	3,113	.....	871
1867	4,294	4,499	.....	205
1868	11,085	4,209	6,876	.....
1869	14,994	4,896	10,098	.....
1870	10,869	4,232	6,637	.....
1871	5,542	3,264	2,278	.....
1872	9,773	4,887	4,886	.....
1873	17,075	6,805	10,270	.....
1874	16,085	7,710	8,375	.....
1875	18,021	6,305	11,716	.....
1876, to October 1	13,914	3,481	10,433	.....
Total	233,136	93,273	.....	.....
Total gain by sea	.....	.....	139,863	.....

*This item is estimate of State senate committee.

Total immigration in excess of emigration by sea		139,863
The departures inland to Oregon, Washington Territory, Nevada, Utah, Montana, Idaho, and to the States east of the Rocky Mountains cannot be less, in my opinion, than	20,000	
Estimating the annual mortality to be 2 per cent., (which is the average mortality of the white population,) the total deaths of Chinese who have remained within the State limits will be	25,900	
Making a total of deaths and departures inland of		45,900
Deducting these from the net gain by sea, leaves the present Chinese population of California		93,963

DANGER OF VAST INFLUX.

His net gain for that year was 10,433. Allowing the same gain for the subsequent year and to the present time, the number of Chinese in California is 103,000. This makes no account of those who go from California into other States and Territories, or of those who pour into the United States by other avenues than the port of San Francisco. This gradual aggregation of Chinese has been going on during a time of comparative plenty in China, and is drawn from two or three comparatively prosperous eastern provinces in China. The Chinese have not been pushed out heretofore by any general distress or desolating famines. They are but the pioneers or advance guard of the masses to come, to be moved thereto by wide-extended distress in their own country. To show that the apprehension of the people in California in this particular has some warrant besides their own fears I direct attention to an article in the London Times, under date of February 19, in which it says:

It is stated on authority which cannot be questioned that seventy million human beings are now starving in the famine-stricken provinces of Northern China. The imagination fails to cope with so gigantic a calamity.

DANGERS TO AMERICA.

We cannot doubt that if the Chinese have found their way to America from comparatively prosperous eastern provinces in thousands they will pour forth in myriads from the famine-stricken districts of the north as soon as the way is opened to them. The Chinese difficulty may speedily become a greater menace to the future of the United States than the negro difficulty was at its worst, for the negro immigration was never voluntary, and ceased with the abolition of the slave trade, while, if the Chinese tide once begins to flow in force, it is difficult to see where and when it will stop.

The vast majority of the people of California of all professions, occupations, and religious belief, native and foreign born, believe with the London Times that this dangerous flood impends upon California and that it is only a question of time, unless Congress takes some action for the protection of the State, when the State will become to all intents and purposes a mere province of China. The Chinese Empire, with its dependencies, embraces 4,695,334 square miles and supports at the present time a population of 477,500,000, or nearly half the human race. China itself, the most populous locality on earth, contains in eighteen provinces of compact territory 1,308,016 square miles, with a population of 413,267,030. This vast hive of human beings has been swarming to the neighboring countries, the islands of the sea, and to California, under the ordinary inducements to the Chinese to seek away from their own crowded land places where their physical existence can be rendered easier. Under the stimulus of famine, desolating at once whole provinces containing nearly one hundred millions of them, driving vast masses to follow the example of the few, who can predict the results or limit them? It is true there is an ocean to cross to gain this the best conquest they have ever attempted. But the transportation of Chinese passengers is the most profitable business in which either steam lines or sailing-vessels can engage, and the supply will be as certainly adequate to the demand as that water will seek a level. The committee found the fear of enormous influx of Chinese held by the most intelligent and experienced men. Thus T. W. Jackson, a commission agent, residing in San Francisco, who had traveled extensively in the east, after stating that where, as at Singapore, the Chinese get foothold they soon outnumber all other population three or four to one, said:

My strong belief is that, if the Chinese felt that they were safe and had a firm footing here, they would come in enormous numbers, because the population of China is practically inexhaustible.

Again he said:

Question. What, in your opinion, would be the result if we should welcome here by invitation and make them citizens, and do away with the entire prejudice that we have against them, protect them from interference, and throw open to them all the avennes of life and the industries of our State, and, in addition to that, give them the right of the elective franchise—what would be the result in a generation, then, in your opinion?

Answer. The result would be that in two or three years the Chinese would outnumber the whites three or four to one. This country is much richer than their own. They can get money very much easier here than in their own country. They have constantly to work there or they must starve, because the great bulk of the population only manage to raise rice enough for the sustenance of the population by constantly manuring, and even then they have to import a large quantity of rice from Singapore and the rice ports, and even so far off as Calcutta. The population of China is so dense that frequently in many places the poorer classes have to live off of roots, berries, grass, fish, and things that would not be thought of in this country; but in this country they are able to live far more decently than in China, and they get better wages here than in China. There is nothing to restrict the influx of Chinese in California but the notion that they have not a sure footing here.

It is this ultimate possibility that gives the darkest aspect to the case. Our burden is already great. It threatens to become crushing.

CHARACTER OF IMMIGRATION.

Having thus shown the number of Chinese now in California, that they already amount to startling figures and that a reasonable apprehension exists that they will enormously increase, I desire to call attention to the character of this immigration and show that it is not like that contemplated by our principles of government or likely to be anything except a curse to this country. If America holds out inducements to emigrants to come here to better their condition, it has been the implied understanding that they shall be fit for and become citizens of this country, adapting themselves to our laws, merging in our population, and cemented into the fabric of society upon the same terms and conditions as those which appertain to the people born on the soil. Our fathers founded here an American civilization, republican in form and spirit; and anything which contravenes this—debases or destroys it—cannot be consistent with the traditions of the Republic or within the meaning of the declaration that America is the home for the oppressed of all lands. The Chinese fulfill none of the requisites of the immigration which our laws are designed to encourage. They remain a distinct, indigestible mass in the community. A residence of nearly thirty years in California has done nothing toward assimilating the Chinese to the body of our people. They occupy their own quarter of the city; still use their own dress and language; worship in their own joss-houses; govern themselves by their own laws, even to the execution of the death penalty against offenders; persevere in their heathenish vices, and live with entire selfish exclusiveness. They do not seek America as a home or to become citizens or to enjoy or maintain its institutions, but merely to drain it of such portion of its wealth as they can acquire; always with *animo revertendi*, and, failing to realize this intention in living, secure the shipment of their bones to China after death. If the immigration of Chinese were restricted to a few hundred, as that of Americans to China is, the evil would be of comparatively slight importance and unworthy of congressional intervention; but when their numbers become so great that they occupy important portions of every city and town on the Pacific coast and crowd into every avenue of employment, so as to exclude from all employment American laborers and citizens who cannot work for their sordid wages, it becomes an evil of great magnitude, as important in its business as in its moral aspect.

HOW IMMIGRATION IS CONDUCTED.

The Joint Committee on Chinese Immigration took abundant testimony upon the character of this immigration from the most intelligent persons who could be reached by its processes. Among others who testified before the committee was a merchant of San Francisco by the name of Thomas H. King, who had been for ten years a resident in China, an active man in the consul's office at Hong-Kong, an extensive traveler through the portion of China whence these people come, and a most intelligent person in all the details of the subject. He had commanded vessels in the China foreign trade, and also in the China coasting trade. He had been engaged in carrying to and from China large numbers of Chinese ; had lived on shore in China as a resident in different parts and visited almost every part of China usually visited by foreigners, and was fully acquainted with the manner of Chinese emigration, from China to California in particular; also to Australia and from China to Peru, Cuba, and elsewhere. He spoke of those brought to California as well as those carried elsewhere as coolies, saying that it was the word used in China for those coming to California as well as to other places, and was applied to all people under contract for labor. His business in the consulship had been to superintend the examination of emigrants coming to the United States and had led him by means of competent interpreters to examine into their system of contracts. He testified that of the many thousands of Chinese whom he examined while acting for the consul at Hong-Kong, nearly all, except a few boys and those who had been to California before, appeared to be going under contract, seldom knowing the purport more than that they were going for from three to five years for so many dollars per month to labor as directed, often knowing that they would be cared for if sick and sent back before the expiration of the contract, or their bodies, if dead, and otherwise so ignorant that they were very easily scared if any one intimated to them that they were being deceived.

Sometimes they refused to go on board at Hong-Kong, as was the case with a few cargoes of them several years ago, going to New Orleans, when they nearly all jumped overboard, some being drowned in the harbor. He states that they often abscond from their contractors bringing them to Hong-Kong, or when they may have been stolen for the Peru or Cuba trade by their contractors. He had often seen their contracts and had them translated. They generally bore the seal of some petty Chinese official of the interior, and state that their friends and relatives pledge for their security, and that the contract will be kept by the cooly. The contractor advances money, to be repaid out of small earnings, with interest, often as high as 5 per cent. per month, and that the pay is to be remitted to China. Nearly all coming to California are from two districts or counties lying close to the city of Canton, Sinong and Sinwai. They are always at variance, he states, often fight on shipboard, and have been known to have pitched battles in California. But few arriving here are artisans, being mostly ignorant agricultural and other laborers from the very lowest classes. Most of them are brought out to supply the cooly broker or contractor in California, who hires them out. These send their agents to China to pick up coolies, with credits to disburse their expenses and advance money on contracts. Chinese residents in California, after earning a few hundred or a thousand dollars, returning from their visit to China, bring in proportion to their means bands of coolies to California under contract, whom they sublet to Chinese as well as to Americans in this country. All the contracts that he had had translated

and explained are guaranteed first by the friends or relatives, who get a share of the advance to the coolies, and violations are often visited upon them in China by the petty officials who are parties to the contracts.

On the arrival of the Chinese in California they are consigned like hogs to the different Chinese companies, their contracts are viséd, and the cooly commences to pay to the companies fees to insure care if he is taken sick and his return home dead or alive. His return is prevented until after his contract has been entirely fulfilled. If he breaks his contract the spies of the six companies hunt him to prevent his returning to China by arrangements with the steamship company or their agents in the steamship employ to prevent his getting a ticket. The agents of the steamship companies testified to this same fact. If a ticket is obtained for him by others he is forcibly stopped on the day of sailing by the employés of the six companies, called "high-binders," who can always be seen guarding the coolies. He explained the term high-binders as meaning men who are employed by the six companies to hound and spy upon the Chinese and pursue them if they do not comply with their contract as the six companies construe it. He further said that these high-binders are frequently employed to assassinate Chinese in San Francisco at the instance of the six companies or in their interest, and that he had been so informed by Chinese who explained this to him when beyond the fear of their persecutors and able to tell the truth. He stated that all sailing-vessels to China have conditions in their charters to take no Chinese but those supplied by the six companies. He gave illustrations of this from his own experience, showing the rigorous supervision of the Chinese six companies over the immigration of Chinese and the effectual measures which they take to prevent any from coming to California who were not shipped on their account. He further stated that all coolies returning to China complain of the extortions, deception, and arbitrary conduct of the six companies in California. He was of the opinion that a part of the Chinese do not come to California willingly; a large number of them are inveigled there by the Chinese contractors who bring them to this country.

From observation in China and in California, as well as among many hundreds of Chinese at a time during long voyages to and from China and by a close examination during many years, he was satisfied that it was a system of bondage labor leading to much mortality among them, dissipation, and misery. The women who come over are bought in China generally from brothels, to be sold here on arrival or held by importers in brothels in this country. The cooly women, or bawds, make a business of traveling to and from China, conducting this trade. The Chinese soon acquire the habit of using opium and alcoholic drinks in this country. Very few of them have the habit when they come over. They are encouraged to do this by the cooly brokers, to keep them in debt. They are inveterate gamblers, often creating big debts on the way here, which has the effect of keeping them in bondage after they get here. They give contract bonds on shipboard for their gambling debts contracted on the way, which they work out after they get here, as well as the advances in China. These bonds are given to contractors who accompany them or to some one who will file his claim against them after they arrive here. Disturbances which occur among them arise between factions or districts from which they come, readily distinguished by the difference of dialect. They frequently maim or kill one another on shipboard, and keep up the practice in California and Nevada. The population

of Two Kwang furnishes a large portion of these people and is greater than that of the United States, and the one city of Canton has a population greater than all the Pacific States. Much testimony was given before the committee, of the same character, showing conclusively that the immigration of Chinese is in a very slight degree voluntary. Mr. Williams, who has testified before the Committee on Foreign Relations at the present session, states that the Chinese come with mortgages upon their labor, and I think it cannot be successfully denied that the immigration which we seek by the bills now before that committee to restrict exists under conditions entirely opposed to American theories and welfare.

CONTRACTS FOR PROSTITUTION.

Perhaps one illustration further, showing the nature of the importation of Chinese females, will be all that is necessary to clinch this important point. I have here a contract which was translated for the committee by Rev. Otis Gibson, and which is substantially the same as others brought in by the police. It reads:

An agreement to assist the woman Ah Ho, because coming from China to San Francisco she became indebted to her mistress for passage. Ah Ho herself asks Mr. Yee-Kwan to advance for her $630. for which Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yee for service as a prostitute for a term of four years.

There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho shall receive no wages. At the expiration of four years Ah Ho shall be her own master. Mr. Yee-Kwan shall not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before her time is out, her mistress shall find her and return her, and whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her Ah Ho shall pay.

On this day of the agreement Ah Ho with her own hands has received from Mr. Yee-Kwan $630.

If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten days she shall make up by an extra month of service for any ten days' sickness.

Now this agreement has proof. This paper received by Ah Ho is witness.

TUNG CHEE.

Twelfth year, ninth month, fourteenth day.

It was distinctly in testimony that the Chinese women in California are with scarcely an exception prostitutes and held under such contracts as this. Abhorrent as such contracts are to the laws of California they are enforced partly through the superstition and partly the ignorance of the women.

This immigration furnishes to the Pacific a species of cooly slavery for men and a slavery of women worse than any other the world has ever known. Is it any wonder that our people pray your attention to the subject and by monster petitions and great public meetings seek to compel you to understand it?

MODE OF LIFE IN SAN FRANCISCO.

So far for the Chinese as relates to the modes of their immigration. Their modes of life in San Francisco and other towns of California, Oregon, and Nevada have been matter of observation for years. They occupy in San Francisco nearly a dozen blocks in the heart of the city and constantly extend their area. I will refer to the evidence taken before the joint committee to illustrate the condition of the Chinese population that is beginning to overcrowd our cities. Dr. Mears, the health officer of San Francisco, testified that the condition of the Chinese quarter is "horrible, inconceivably horrible." He stated that the Chinese as a rule "live in large tenement-houses, large numbers crowded into individual rooms, without proper ventilation, bad drainage, and under ground, with a great deal of filth, the odors from which are horrible." He described their mode of taking a room ten feet high and putting a flooring half way to the ceiling, both floors being crowded at night with sleepers. In these crowded dens

cases of small-pox were concealed from the police. "They live underground in bunks. The topography of that portion of Chinadom is such that you enter a house sometimes and think that it is a one-story house and you will find two or three stories down below on the side of the hill, where they live in great filth."

The testimony of the mayor and numerous police officers was to the same effect, and that all the efforts of the police to break up this contagion-creating crowding of humanity had been vain. The only wonder is that desolating pestilences have not ensued. Small-pox has often been epidemic, and could always be traced to Chinese origin. The Chinese quarter was once occupied by shops, churches, and dwellings of Americans. Now these are thoroughly Mongolian as any part of Canton. All other races flee from the contact. Their domain divides the best business streets of the city from a portion of it containing the most desirable residences or those that would be were it not that the necessity for men, women, and children to traverse the Chinese quarter to get from their homes across the city tends to destroy the value of this property. This is illustrated by the testimony of Max Morganthau, a witness called for the Chinese. He said:

I have been living close to them now for the last twenty years. I am hunting now to get away from that neighborhood, because I cannot stay there any more.
Question. Why not?
Answer. It is a bad neighborhood.
Q. Is it bad because the Chinese are there?
A. In former times I had one street to go down, and now that is taken up.
Q. Taken up by the Chinese?
A. Taken up by the Chinese.
Q. How is that an objection?
A. It is an objection because I do not believe it would suit my taste for my children to go through Chinatown, and if I could help myself I would move them off to-morrow from that place. Property has been decreased for six or eight blocks there, and it would not be any inducement for me to go somewhere else. Personally I do not care to go. Whether Chinese, negroes, or Indians, one is as good for me as the other; but when you have got grown daughters and a wife, they have different feelings; and I shall be compelled to move my home, and only for no other reason than that the Chinese drive me away.

A writer in the San Francisco Call of March 27, 1876, describes the process by which Chinadom extends in San Francisco, and the incidents which accompany it, justifying the fear locally entertained that the future will see that city a purely Asiatic camp unless some means are devised to avert the calamity.

In the heart of the city, not a stone's throw from the city hall, and dovetailing into the filthy and dilapidated tenements of the Barbary coast, the smoke of burning sandal-wood, punk, and opium, and the greasy smell of roast pig declare with odoriferous emphasis that we have a Chinese quarter. From Jackson street, whose gutters are used as open-air sewers to carry off slops and swills, to Sacramento street, where the better class of merchants do business; from Kearny street on the east to Stockton on the west, covering an area of six large blocks, the Chinaman is literally master of all he surveys. Month after month and year after year he pushes step after step in the march of possession, and where he once puts down his slipper he holds his ground as determinedly as though he had taken root in the soil. Give him a two years' lease of a building in good condition in the quarter, and, no matter how high a price you fix, he will pay it willingly. He will do more. He will not ask you to make any repairs; the walls will never require whitening or replastering, and the paint on the outside may crack and fall off, yet he will never trouble his landlord. With a national pride which would be highly commendable were it not that it is so largely adulterated with bitter contempt of the outside barbarian, he will go to the expense of painting the front of the building with white, green, and vermilion, so that outside as well as inside the house will display a Chinese character. He will remodel the interior by making one hundred rooms out of twenty; and so economical of space is he that a room not larger than a small state-room will furnish ample accommodations for half a dozen men. Each squad does its own cooking, rarely with a small stove, generally with a fire in an open dish or brazier. An overdose of smoke now and then does not produce the slightest annoy-

ance, so far as the inmates are concerned. They are smoke-proof and heat-proof. A house which has been so tenanted for six months becomes unfit for any other purpose, and as the months roll by the greasy carbon accumulates on the walls and the floors in thick layers. When the lease has expired, the Chinese tenant makes his own terms, and either obtains a release at a small figure or buys the property. Not many years ago, Washington street, from Dupont to Stockton, was one of the main promenades for ladies residing in the northern part of the city who desired to go to Kearny and Montgomery streets to do their shopping. Then it was considered a good business block, and the millinery and hair stores did a flourishing trade. On Sundays the religiously inclined might be seen going to and coming from the First Baptist church, between Dupont and Stockton streets.

But the unclean tide ebbed and flowed nearer and nearer until it washed its very foundations, and refined ladies could no longer submit to be jostled at the church-door by the Mongolian *chiffonier* or high-binder, or allow the pure minds of their little children to be contaminated by the surrounding atmosphere of degradation and moral filth. The necessity for changing the site of the church became so apparent that a few months ago the property was sold to the Chinese, who made extensive alterations upon it, and it is now used as a manufactory for slippers, cigars, shirts, and clothing, besides several other purposes best known to the Chinese, among which may be mentioned tan games and worse uses. This change had not taken place very long before the walls of the edifice, which had so often echoed back the sweet sounds of prayer and the deep tones of the organ, rang with the affrighted shrieks of a Chinaman who was slashed with knives by his countrymen until his life flowed from his wounds with his blood.

The red and gold sign-boards of the Mongolians are multiplying fast in this direction, and already they begin to stare in the face of the city hall, which, if the signs of the times be fulfilled, must ere long resound to the horrid screech of the Chinese fiddle. The mayor of the city from where he stands in front of his office can see, not one hundred yards away, the green and gold balconies of the joss-house on Clay street, opposite the plaza, where two decades ago the eloquent Colonel Baker expressed in glowing language the grief of the State over the mortal remains of Senator Broderick. And it was not many weeks back that a very interesting debate in the supervisor's chamber was rendered almost inaudible by the deafening reports of fire-crackers and the beating of gongs a block away in honor of the Chinese new year. The march of invasion, from all indications, will not stop at Kearny street on the east or at Sacramento street on the south. Should the tide of immigration continue to pour in upon us as it is doing at present, it may be predicted within a year or two how soon Merchant street, Montgomery block, Commercial street, and portions of Pine and California streets will come into the possession of our Asiatic population; for property-owners will lease or sell when they are offered good prices, and the shrewd and indefatigable Chinese speculator will not hesitate for a mere question of present value when so much profit looms up in the near future. Indeed, such a prediction would not be regarded as presumptuous when the changes that have taken place within the last six years in what were once prosperous business localities are taken into consideration.

The question so often asked as to the cause of the decrease in the value of property in a certain portion of the city might be truthfully answered by referring to the Chinese quarter, which is fast extending as a black desert, cutting off in a great measure desirable communication between North Beach and the eastern and southern business centers.

The streets mentioned by this writer are among the most important in the city. California street is our Wall street. Montgomery block may be properly likened to the Astor House. Thus the Chinese blight whole sections of the city which they occupy, and make themselves still more room by driving off their neighbors on every side. The committee well said:

The Chinese make their way in California not by superior force or virtue, or even industry, but by revolting characteristics.

CRUELTY TO THE SICK.

Again, Dr. Mears testified that he had never seen any class of people so indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. Said he:

For instance, take these little hospitals which they have. Go in Aleck alley, where there are but small rooms, horribly filthy. You find Chinamen there dying with consumption and other chronic diseases, lying in their filth, with no person to take care of them, and absolutely in a state of starvation.

He described the people there devouring "like starved wolves" pieces of stale bread or lumps of hard rice given by whites who hap-

pened there. These places are run by the six companies without attendants or food, five or six Chinamen in a small room. He said:

If a person not accustomed to these things opens the door and goes in, it almost knocks him down, the odor is so terrible, and you cannot find any one waiting on them. I suppose somebody does go there some time and do something for them, but it looks to me very much like they are starved. It is a notorious fact, which you can ascertain by the officers of the law, policemen and others, more than you can from me, because they have seen more of them, that the Chinese are entirely indifferent to the sufferings of their brethren. When a man gets in a condition that he can do no more work he is looked upon as somebody in the way, and they want to get rid of him as soon as possible.

On such testimony the committee found that the Chinese "are cruel and indifferent to their sick." He described cases of Chinese lepers at the city hospital: "Their feet dropped off by dry gangrene and their hands were wasted and attenuated. Their finger-nails dropped off." He said the Chinese were gradually working eastward and would by and by crowd into eastern cities, where the conditions under which they live in San Francisco would produce, in the absence of its climatic advantages, destructive pestilences. Dr. Mears is a learned and careful man, but his testimony did not differ from that of the police and others familiar with the subjects of which he spoke. Upon the point that "the tide of Chinese emigration is gradually tending eastward," an item in the New York Herald gives testimony:

Even here in New York there is a joss-house, and Donovan's alley has long been the wonder of the curious and the grief of the Christian missionary on account of its immoralities and degrading exhibitions. Some way must be found to subject this Chinese question to control, or the leprosy which comes into the country with every ship from China will taint and corrupt not alone the body-politic, but the sanctities of society and the sacredness of religion.

SECRET TRIBUNALS.

If any further evideuce is needed that the Chinese are "an indigestible mass in the body-politic, alien in habit, thought, and feeling," I refer to the abundant testimony that they are governed by their own tribunals, which inflict penalties even to the taking of life for the infraction of their ordiuances. The police were well aware of such tribunals, some to keep women subservieut to their contracts for prostitution, some for other causes. Charles T. Jones, district attorney for Sacramento County, testified to the operations of such a lawless tribunal in the capital city of the State:

Question. State, if you please, any views that you may entertain in reference to the Chinese question, as you understand it, under investigation, and any facts that you may have to illustrate your opinion.

Answer. The only attention that I have given to the Chinese subject at all is as it has come under my immediate observation as an officer. I find that the Chinese are a great deal more likely to commit crime than the other races here. I find that they are a great deal harder to convict. Punishment does not follow them as surely as it does the others for the reason that the Chinese protect them. We do not find that those among the Chinese that we would expect to be good citizens and ferret out crime lend us the aid the Caucasian does. For that reason we find it a great deal harder to convict them or punish them. I think the Chinese have no respect for our laws at all. I am forced to that conclusion. I am satisfied that they have courts wherein they try cases that occur between themselves, although such courts are in violation of our law, and that they respect the decision of such a court in preference to our own. I find that the one is in direct antagonism to the other.

Q. On what experience is that opinion founded?

A. My experience as an officer; that is all.

Q. Have you ever known of any Chinese advertising to take life?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Recite such an instance.

A. I will state that in February of this year it was brought to my notice that Mr. F. W. Fratt, of Sacramento, had rented the basement of the Orleans Hotel and turned it into a laundry for Chinamen. There appeared to be a Chinese laundry association there. One of their rules was that no Chinaman should establish a

laundry within so many doors where there was one existing. They notified this Chinaman that he had violated the rules of the Chinese association or the Chinese law, and that he must leave. The Chinaman communicated this intelligence to Mr. Fratt, and told him he was afraid; that he would not dare to longer remain there. Mr. Fratt told him that our law would protect him; that he need not fear. A short time after that the Chinaman came one Sunday afternoon and informed Mr. Fratt that he had been approached by three members of this association, who drew knives and pistols upon him and demanded that he should pay them $110; that he had been fined that amount. They threatened to kill him on the spot if he did not pay this fine, and he delivered over all the money that he had. Mr. Fratt became incensed at this treatment and offered a reward for the arrest of these Chinese. A Chinaman afterward reported to the authorities that there had been a reward offered to anybody who would kill this Chinaman. We paid considerable attention to the matter. We were informed about a week or ten days after that that the same association was in session. The chief of police and a number of officers went there and arrested some forty-seven of them. I came along about three minutes, I presume, after they took the Chinese down. I told them to go back to see if they could find any papers. A few of the officers went back and found some papers, which were translated by Rev. Mr. Condit. [Producing papers.] These papers [indicating] were pasted on the door; and those papers [indicating] were found in the room.

Senator SARGENT. I will submit these papers to you, Mr. Gibson, [presenting papers.] Is that translation practically correct?

Rev Mr. GIBSON. I have looked over these papers. This is what I should call a manuscript hand. I am not familiar with it, but the translation is substantially the same as the original.

Q. Who translated these papers?

A. Rev. Mr. Condit.

Q. Is he a Chinese scholar?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is capable of translating Chinese?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is not in this part of the State?

A. I have not seen him since we had him in Sacramento as an interpreter.

Senator SARGENT. He is in Los Angeles. I have not been able to get him here. I will read this paper:

"Because hear a country has laws and customs which they observed, afterwards families also mutually follow, how much more have come down to us for a long time—each man doing his duty dares not *not* observe them.

"At this time Wang-Yee-Nui, on Second street, Orleans laundry, secretly has opened business, so broken rules, resting on his own force, cannot oppose him, therefore assemble in hall. We men, one heart, put forth exertion mutually to aid, must clean him out and avoid after trouble. Therefore deliberate the following particular: In our companies number of friend who has ability first to kill Wong-Sau-Chee, thankfully give him two thousand round dollars. Afterwards also take Wong-Yee-Nui, destroy his name, thankfully give him six hundred round dollars. If only wound him, not kill, also give him one-half in his hand. At this time what trouble comes cannot tell. If he cannot get away, is seized by foreigners, and put in jail, then our company manage the whole affair. Do not swallow our words; this poster is put up as evidence.

"Kwong Sui, first year, fifth month. Lucky day fixed.

"Kwong Hong Tong put forth."

He produced other papers of the same character, showing that the Chinese agree that in case one of the executioners of a sentence is hanged a sum of money shall be paid on his account, and if imprisoned he should receive regular wages during the term of imprisonment. He also testified that the Chinese have no regard for an oath.

NO REGARD FOR OATHS.

Judge Davis Louderback, police magistrate of San Francisco, testified that "a great many crimes among Chinamen go unpunished."

Question. Why is that?

Answer. Because their veracity is exceedingly bad. They hardly ever prosecute except when animated by malice and some conspiracy to convict somebody.

Q. What estimate, then, as a magistrate do you set upon the average Chinese oath?

A. Of course we are speaking of them as a class?

Q. As a class.

A. I think their want of veracity is horrible. They do not seem to realize that there is such a thing as sanctity about an oath. That is the general result of my observation and experience.

To the same effect was the testimony of Municipal Judge Blake. The committee were fully warranted in their finding that "there is great want of veracity among Chinese witnesses, who have little regard to the sanctity of an oath." The document to which I have referred (Miscellaneous Document, No. 36) in this matter, as in many others, garbles the testimony and makes Judge Blake appear to say that "when a Chinaman's case goes to a jury there is no help for it, the jury must convict him," because its prejudices or popular pressure compel it. He said just contrary. The defendant is allowed to testify on his own behalf, and he said the Chinaman tells such inconsistent lies that, the testimony on the part of the people showing that he is guilty, he is convicted. But he also said that juries often acquit Chinamen where they would convict white men, because they seem to be helpless, and he had observed that juries strongly anti-cooly did this. Surely this document No. 36 is a valuable contribution to the files of the Senate.

SORDID WAGES—ABSENCE OF FAMILY.

The committee found that Chinese immigration "involves sordid wages, no public schools, and the absence of the family." The standard of wages is always fixed by competition. If the Chinese work for wages that will not support a white laborer's family, as they do, being themselves well fed on a handful of rice, a little refuse pork, and desiccated fish, costing but a few cents per day, and lodged contentedly in a pig-sty, they become affluent, according to their standard, on wages that would beggar an American laborer. On such wages he cannot educate his children or even find them bread. The Chinese have no families in this country. To all the one hundred thousand adult Chinamen in California there are probably not three score wives, and those not first wives. It is a famililess immigration, and has been so for a quarter of a century. There are very few Chinese children in the State. The coolies come from the ages of sixteen to forty; but they come to labor, not to attend school. There is very little doubt that the few Chinese children in San Francisco attend school, for the last report of the school superintendent of that city shows one hundred and nineteen in attendance at the public schools, thereby showing that the inference of this document No. 36 is false, that public prejudice prevents such attendance. If one hundred and nineteen can attend, any number may. It is confessed by Mr. Brooks, local attorney of the six companies, in his brief sent here, that the ignorance of the young coolies of our language is the cause of their not attending the public schools. But this malicious assault upon California is only one of a series contained in this veracious document. The real question is far beyond this, however. It is, how can the American laborer educate his children on wages that will not enable him to furnish bread for their mouths and clothes to cover their nakedness?

Here is the startling problem that must arrest the attention of this nation. Shall the American laborer be brought down to the condition of the Asiatic? Can we maintain our civilization by increasing the distance between capital and labor so far that the laborer shall live in sordid poverty while the employer shall aggregate wealth and lands at the expense of his meanly paid toil and sweat? But I propose to revert to this point again, for it is the central question in this whole broad subject.

DESIRABLENESS OF THIS IMMIGRATION.

I wish to show still further the effects of this mass of ignorant hu-

manity upon California, judged by present and past experience. These were testified to by many of our most thoughtful citizens. Thus Judge E. D. Wheeler, of the nineteenth district court, next in rank to the supreme bench of the State, said:

Question. What is your opinion as to the desirableness of the Chinese, looking to the future political and moral condition of our State? And state whether you think they can assimilate with us, become homogeneous with our population, and eventually become good American citizens.

Answer. The principal, and I might say my only, objection to the immigration of the Chinese is that I think they never will assimilate with our population here; the matter has been decided in the course of a quarter of a century; they have been in this country more or less during that time; they still, to all appearance, retain their peculiar costume and follow their original national habits in matters of food and mode of living. Judging from that experience I am disposed to think, and do think, that they never will assimilate; there is no such thing known as social interchange between the Chinese and the white population, as far as I have observed.

He agreed with Judge Blake that the Chinese have a fair show in our courts:

Question. In the administration of justice, so far as you observe in your court or in the courts of your associates, do the Chinese have fair treatment under the law?

Answer. If I may speak of the district courts of the State. I think both in civil and criminal cases the Chinamen are fully protected. I think they have as fair a hearing and as fair a show in the courts as white men.

That Judge Wheeler spoke from no animosity toward the Chinese is evident from his own statements:

Answer. I have never felt anything like animosity toward Chinamen, and have always been in favor of their being fully protected against assault and against any invasion of their rights here. I am in favor of that now to the fullest extent. If I can be said to occupy what is called an anti-Chinese position, it is solely with reference to the effect that their immigration would have upon our social system hereafter.

Q. But for the apprehension of a great influx would you interfere with Chinese immigration at all by legislation?

A. No, sir. If I had the control of it I would not interfere with it but for that apprehension. I think that one of two results is inevitable, however: that we will either have a large non-voting population, which will not assimilate, and which will in time be troublesome and turbulent and riotous, or, if you give them the ballot, in ten years from now we will have a Chinaman for governor. There is no doubt of that; for the percentage of adult males in that population, of course, is very much greater than it is among the white population. While I am not accustomed to being alarmed about these things, within the last two years, of my own notion and from reading and from what I have seen, I have very serious apprehensions of the effect of this immense immigration upon our American civilization and particularly upon this coast. I feel that, and I feel it deeply and earnestly.

These are the views of an enlightened judge. Opposition to Chinese immigration is by no means confined to the laboring classes, and certainly not to the depraved classes, as Mr. Kennedy insists. Dr. T. M. Logan, permanent secretary of the board of health of the State of California and an eminent authority on all social and moral questions, in a letter dated in 1871, which will be found on page 863 of the testimony, upon the subject of "Chinese immigration and the physiological decay of nations," deprecates the flooding of the country with hordes of pagans, and refers to the "evils likely to result from combined influences of the intermixture of races and the introduction of the habits and customs of a sensual and depraved people in our midst. Coming, as they do, of all classes and conditions imaginable, with their hereditary vices and ingrafted peculiarities, crowding our seaports and spreading through our inland towns and villages, they must become liable, like our Indian aborigines, to maladies consequent upon so great a change of climate, food, and general circumstances." He directs attention also to the "occasions and predisposing causes of disease existing in our more populous communities:

narrow and filthy lanes; low-built, miserably ventilated houses; small and crowded apartments, into some of which the light of day never enters; damp walls and floors, and uncleanliness of personal habits, together with insufficiency of pure water and of fresh, sound animal and vegetable food—these are the general conditions and surroundings of their miserable existence. In view of such inducements to disease and enemies to health, it is a matter of astonisment that a relentless pestilence does not arise every year and with the fatal malignity of the late epidemic, small-pox, spread dismay and desolation throughout the land." He calls special attention to the destructive habit of opium-eating, as exercising a most deleterious influence, dangerous to the minds and bodies of those so habitually addicted to it.

Ex-Governor Haight gave in a condensed form his objection to this genesis of Chinese:

Question. You are an old resident of this State?

Answer. I am.

Q. You have been governor of the State for four years?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In your judgment is it desirable or otherwise to limit by proper legislation the immigration of Chinese to this coast?

A. I think it is desirable to check it.

Q. Will you state the general reasons that lead you to this conclusion?

A. The reasons that operate most strongly upon my mind are those of a political and moral character. When I use the word "political," I do not use it, of course, in a partisan sense. I do not think it is desirable to have any considerable class of people in the country who cannot be intrusted with the ballot. The Chinese, as we all understand here, (and on that subject I think there is no difference of opinion whatever,) are unfit to exercise the elective franchise.

Q. And why unfit?

A. They have no conception whatever of the responsibilities attending the exercise of that duty under a republican government, and their votes would be controlled by the use of money, and in small amounts probably; that is, the amount *per capita* that it would require to throw the vote one way or the other would be small. In other words, their votes would be bought and paid for beyond all question. There can certainly be no doubt whatever on that subject, if they were allowed to vote. You might therefore just as well vote so many quadrupeds exactly as to permit the Chinese to vote. I think it is a very great misfortune—I suppose we all agree on that subject—to this country that the negroes were originally imported into the Southern States. We suffered from that cause until it finally culminated in a war. There was the same class of reasons then urged in favor of the importation of the African. There was a material gain to the country undoubtedly for a period of years by the use of that labor in the South, but it would have been very much better for us to have been without that labor than to have experienced the evils that resulted from it afterward. However that may be, without digressing in matters perhaps somewhat foreign, it seems to me there can be no difference of opinion among intelligent men that it is undesirable to have any class of people in the country, under institutions like ours, who cannot be trusted with the ballot; in other words, who cannot participate in the government of the country. That is the first reason which operates upon my mind. Then, again, the vices of paganism which the Chinese have are very difficult to be managed satisfactorily under our institutions. We have not any strong central authority. Our police is necessarily defective, owing to the manner in which it is created, perhaps, to some extent, and then to the small amount of power which it is allowed to exercise under our Government. Therefore, it is difficult to get at these vices that infect the Chinese quarter in the way of correction. When I was in office, according to my recollection, the percentage of Chinese criminals in the State's prison was larger than the percentage of any other class; but that was simply a question of percentage. It was slightly larger in proportion to the population than the number of white convicts, but that, of course, has no very great weight, because, as Judge Blake has stated here, it might arise from incidental circumstances possibly.

OPINIONS OF RELIGIONISTS.

Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, an orthodox Congregational minister, editor of The Pacific, the oldest religious paper on the coast, and who had resided in California since 1849, of regular standing in his church, and

exercising his profession as a minister, testified that he traveled about seven thousand miles a year through all parts of the coast. He said in answer to questions:

Question. What is your opinion, from your travels and your residence in this State, of the moral and religious effect of the immigration of Chinese to this coast?

Answer. I believe it is very destructive; that it is very degrading. It is in some of the places too fearful to tell of, as where the police of Sacramento talked with me freely and told me the facts which they come at in connection with the Chinese. It is very degrading.

Q. What do you think the effect of their presence is upon our white populations?

A. I think it is to exclude a large white immigration, and exceedingly demoralizing to the present white population of the coast, and that it renders labor contemptible, so that it is difficult for our sons to choose manual labor, and it is almost impossible to induce our daughters to choose manual labor.

Q. Why do they not?

A. It is letting themselves down on a level with the Chinaman.

Q. Do you find that that sentiment grows among our white population?

A. I believe it is growing very largely, like the growth of a similar sentiment at the South when slaves commenced to be introduced there?

Q. Do you think that the amount of Christianization that is done to Chinese by missionary efforts among them on this coast is an equivalent for the demoralization produced among the whites?

A. It is nothing like an equivalent.

To show that Mr. Blakeslee was not alone in the religious community in his views, I will read the resolutions on this subject unanimously adopted at the general association of the Congregational churches and ministers in California, adopted on the 9th of October last. I read these resolutions in the hope that they will reach the ears of the religionists on this side of the Rocky Mountains that they may see the opinion of their brethren there, men as disinterested, men as holy, engaged as earnestly in the work of religion and a desire to save souls as they are upon this side. I look with contempt upon that cant, that ignorant cant, which is set up on this side that it is the interest of religion that California shall be heathenized. The command of the Scriptnres is: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" not overwhelm your own family, your own neighborhood, your own nation with the bigots and effects of heathenism. Let the missionary go to China and convert these men from their heathenish practices, wash their robes, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb, and then, being fit for American citizenship and to become an integral part of our society, to be cemented into our political and moral structure, then let them come as immigrants. Until then, they deteriorate our body-politic and destroy our civilization. I will read the opinion of this great religious association of the Pacific coast.

Mr. CHAFFEE. A little while ago the Senator was speaking about Chinamen not becoming voters. I should like to inquire of the Senator whether any of them in the State of California have ever been naturalized and become citizens.

Mr. SARGENT. Not one, so far as the committee could discover, and I do not know of any personally. It was pretended that one was; but on tracing the case down it was found that he was born in China, his father being an Englishman or foreigner, and he, being half non-Chinese, was said to have been naturalized in California.

Mr. CHAFFEE. I should like to ask another question; and that is whether they show any disposition to become naturalized citizens of the United States.

Mr. SARGENT. Not the slightest. Not in any way. They do not come even to remain.

Mr. CHAFFEE. I wanted to have the testimony of the Senator on this floor to that fact.

Mr. SARGENT. I have observed them there for a quarter of a century. I have visited every part of their quarter; I have talked with them from their Chinese merchants down to the cooly; I have talked with men who are best posted in all the details in regard to the matter, and I sat patiently every moment of time, for I think over a month, that was occupied by the Joint Committee on Chinese Immigration, where this and all matters connected with them were canvassed, and I yet have to find an instance where there was an expression of desire on the part of a Chinaman to become an American citizen. The whole theory of their immigration is to the contrary.

Mr. CHAFFEE. I asked this question of the Senator from California because I do not conceive that it is the policy of this country to build up within this nation any foreign nation or to invite immigrants to this country except those who show a desire to assimilate with our country.

Mr. SARGENT. I was about to read the resolutions of the general association of the Congregational churches and ministers in California, adopted last October. They are in these words:

Resolved, That we, the pastors and delegates of the Congregational churches in California, earnestly deprecate and unqualifiedly condemn all illegal measures and mob "outrages" upon the Chinese in our land.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the churches and all good men most zealous and persevering efforts to evangelize those who are and may be among us.

Resolved, That we express it as our conviction that the Burlingame treaty ought to be so modified, and such other just measures be adopted by the General Government, as shall restrict Chinese immigration, and shall especially prevent the importation of Chinese prostitutes, and so relieve us from impending peril to our republican and Christian institutions.

Here certainly was not an assembly of "foreign ruffians," of "murderous villains" and "base demagogues," as the lobbyist of the Chinese six companies represents to be all those who favor legislation restraining this great evil. Before this body of men, eminent for intelligence, cultivation, and Christian character and work, Mr. Blakeslee made an address which forcibly summed up the reasons influencing this great church organization to throw its vast influence against the continued importation of Chinese. Among other things he said:

Now, right over against our country, a little to the west, is a vast people—an ocean of men—four hundred millions of human beings—adverse to us in every attainable feature of character; confirmed in heathenish feelings, tastes, prejudices, customs, and habits; differing from us in fixed peculiarities of life, in dress, in food, in dwellings, arts, language, race, color, government, and religion. And this numerous people are discovering that, in every respect, America is vastly more desirable for them than China itself; and they are becoming eager to migrate here in multitudes, to locate themselves and their families permanently, with all their distinct peculiarities. Moreover, wealthy English and American companies have organized great money-making plans for bringing millions—it is true—even millions—of these Chinese into our State, and into all parts of the Union; and they have sent out emissaries into China to induce the people, by every true and false story, to migrate here. Already *two hundred and fifty thousand* have come, of whom over *one hundred thousand* remain. They are building cities after their own manner; establishing business after their own customs; carrying on operations after their own habits; putting up temples for their own heathen gods; enforcing a heathen religion after their own forms; organizing a secret government to their own liking, with laws after their own notions; instituting a police force—even with the death penalty to compel obedience; and building dens of debauchery and vice, the same as in their own region and shadow of death, while every inducement is tried to wheedle men as victims into their nets.

The tendency of all this is tremendously toward evil; toward vice and abomination; toward all opposed to the true spirit of Americanism, and is very dangerous to our morality, to our stability, and to our success as a people and a nation. Millions more of these Chinese must come if not prevented by any legal, or moral, or

mobocratic restraint, increasing incalculably by numbers the evils already existing; while a spirit of race prejudices and clanship jealousies and a conflict of interests must be developed, portending possible evil beyond all description.

But, it is said, we will prevent this by Christianizing and elevating these Chinese, to make them fit to be citizens with us in the great Republic. Look at the facts in the case: of the two hundred and fifty thousand who in twenty-five years have come among us, only two in a thousand have become nominal Christians, while of these nearly one-half had before been trained in Christian schools by missionaries in China; leaving only about one in a thousand converted really in California. And this is in comparatively favorable circumstances, for as they come in larger numbers they will the more effectually support each other in their national peculiarities and vices, to remain a fixed, distinct class among us, confirmed in heathen immoralities with an influence in every respect tremendously bad. Surely the prospect of their conversion is, humanly speaking, very small, and let not the Christian boast of what he is going to do. But still every consistent effort for this purpose should be made. Christ commands it; our religion demands it; humanity demands it; the spirit of American benevolence demands it. By all means let all be done which can be done to open the dark minds of the Chinese to the truth and the blessedness of the gospel. Yet act not presumptuously, in the expectation of success, to encourage multitudes of these heathens to pour unchecked into America, for the future inferred from the past is very unfavorably inclined.

He proceeded to set out in a graphic way the results that would attend unchecked Chinese immigration. He showed how it cuts off labor from American workmen, drags them in character downward, and induces American youths of both sexes to despise labor as fit only for a servile class. The maintenance of American institutions and civilization was impossible in face of a vast tide of corruption, debasement, and heathenism threatening to roll in from the west.

EFFECT ON AMERICAN LABOR.

I could quote to any extent to show that the most enlightened men of California are in accord in the belief that vast evils are impending on the nation from this source. It is not only the laboring classes who fear disaster. But there is reason in the apprehensions of the artisan and laborer who are being supplanted. Abundant testimony was taken before the committee to show the fearful extent to which the white mechanics have been supplanted by Chinese, and there is no conflict of testimony on that point. The San Francisco daily papers give as news, items daily showing that the work still goes on. I cut from a recent number of the Daily Post the following:

The shoemakers' union held its weekly meeting last night at Faneuil Hall, on Market street. President Pope read an interesting statement prepared at the request of Hon. J. J. Tobin. It set forth that eight years ago, before the Chinese began shoemaking, a steady workman here could earn $25 per week. Of late years, however, workmen have had hard work to earn a livelihood, and many of them have been compelled to leave the city. There are now in the city about twelve hundred Caucasian and five thousand Chinese shoemakers. Of the twelve hundred, eight hundred are out of work. Those employed do not average over $9 per week. To show how wages have depreciated, it was stated that the price for bottoming ladies' shoes, first-class work, had gradually fallen from $18 per dozen paid in 1870, to $6 to $7 in 1878. Other classes of labor were alleged to have fallen in price in the same proportion, but the manufacturers are still not satisfied and want cheaper work, though they now regret having taught the Chinese, because they foresee that in two or three years Chinese labor will crush them out.

And that is one of the operations of this Chinese system. A boss shoemaker wants to compel his workmen to come down in their wages so that he may have his work more cheaply done. He brings in a lot of Chinamen who know nothing about the business and teaches it to them and supplants the American laborers with these Chinese. These Chinese run a few months, learn the business, and then go to one of these hovels and set up for themselves, where they pay almost no rent and live on a few handfuls of rice, and they make shoes and undersell him and drive him out of the business. That has been going on

regularly for years, until the Chinese occupy not only a position as mere laborers or artisans, but as employers in nearly every branch of business in San Francisco requiring the labor of artisans.

There is not a branch of industry in San Francisco where this is not true as fully, or nearly so, as with the shoemakers. The Chinese work for wages so low that a single American cannot live on them, much less one who has a family. The great fact is that the presence of the Chinese in America is the beginning of radical changes in the labor system of the country. Chinese labor is not merely a cheap labor, but its introduction here introduces elements into the labor problem new in the history of this country and fraught with momentous consequences to the future social conditions of the laboring classes. Heretofore two systems of labor have existed, to wit: free labor, as seen in the North, and slave labor, as formerly existing at the South. The free-labor system built up the empires of wealth, progress, and industry of all the Northern and Western States. That system affords an opportunity for the education and prosperity of the non-capitalist masses. Free labor places the poor man in a position to defend his rights against the aggression and oppression of aggregated wealth. It more nearly than any other system distributes the wealth of a country among the many and prevents its vast and oppressive accumulation in the hands of a few. Under that system, the laborer has a voice in fixing the reward of his toil. He is in competition only with men who, like himself, desire to rise in the scale of human progress. The rate of his wages is fixed on a scale admitting of the education of his children and home comforts and elegances for his family. Capital and labor are partners in the production of wealth. Free labor gives to the laborer a share in the profits of this partnership. Free labor gives to this country the intelligent masses which are the glory and strength of the nation. Under it men could arise from a condition of ceaseless toil, and by industry and economy acquire a competency. Under it the social conditions were not fixed and unalterable. It eliminated classhood in society and made opportunities for advancement socially, politically, and financially equal among men. Mark well the underlying reason. Free labor did this because it had only free labor to contend with in the field of competition. If a man desires the education of his children, a home for himself, the comforts of civilized life in that home, a competency laid by for age, and, in short, the things which exalt and embellish life, his wages must have a rate making these things possible to him. In the division of the joint product of capital and labor the share of labor must be sufficient for the betterments mentioned. Capital will not concede this unless it must; so it follows that, where all labor desires to rise, all will demand the rate enabling it to do so. If one man wants a house, he is not enjoined by the competition of another who has a similar laudable desire. Free labor then was and is what it is because of the character of the competition under that system. The character of the competition, then, is the great essential in a system of labor. This will be still more fully illustrated by carefully considering slave labor.

SLAVE LABOR.

Slave labor existed at the South. In that system capital owned the laborer. His clothing, his food, his dwelling, and all his desires and aspirations were under the absolute control of his owner. That owner took the fruits of his toil and surrounded himself with elegance, comforts, and refinements. Under a slave system there is no

dispute between capital and labor as to the division of profits. In that system capital was a dictator; it had free choice in the division, and it took it all. It dwelt in mansions while labor crawled in a hovel; it reveled in the embellishments of learning, taste, culture, and refinement while labor groveled in squalor, poverty, ignorance, and filth. The one basked in the sunlight of heaven, the other burrowed in the dark caves of the earth. This was what happened when capital had the power to dictate as to the division of profits, and this is a fair indication of the extent of its generosity. Within this system the non-capitalist white man had no chance to rise. He had no place in the system. In its construction he was excluded. He could not demand a rate of wages or reward for labor including a home, for his competitor, the slave, had only a hovel. He could not demand a rate with a carpet in it, because his competitor, the slave, had a mud floor. He could not command a rate with education for his children in it, for his competitor was not even the owner of his children. In short, he could not command the rate of wages that would enable him to rise, because capital turned from him by natural instinct to the chattel whose debasement was fixed, unalterable, and hereditary. In that system there were but two well-defined classes, to wit, capitalists and slaves. Capital had no use for the more costly kind which admitted of the progress, the prosperity, or the happiness of labor, because slave labor supplied the demand; hence the non-capitalist classes emigrated to the free-labor sections, or the few that remained consented to poverty and ignorance. The free man who labors cannot rise above the essential conditions of slavery if his competitor be a slave. Ceaseless toil under conditions of hopeless poverty is slavery in everything but a name. So, then, it is brought again to view that it is the character of the competition which determines the conditions of labor. Labor in competition with the desires and aspirations of civilization and enlightenment may hope to rise above a fate of endless servitude, but in competition with degradation and barbarism it must despair in hopeless poverty.

FREE OR SLAVE LABOR—WHICH?

Here, then, are the two systems, standing at the extremes of the whole question. Slave labor has disappeared in fact, but only measurably in effect; and now comes its counterpart, its other self, its twin monster, Chinese labor. Here is the new competition. Look at it well. Which does it most resemble—free or slave labor? Remember it is the character of the competition that will fix the status of labor. What will this invasion demand—a house or a hovel? Will it demand the elegances of the freeman or the squalor of the slave? If it chooses the hovel, then the home will disappear as the inheritance of labor, for competition is the leveler. Will it demand a rate of wages including education for its children, the carpets, and books, and pictures, and music, of a civilized home? If not, then these things will be eliminated from the life of labor, for capital will, by force of an inherent law of accumulation, form a partnership with that partner who will make the smallest demand in the division of the profits. The competition of capital with capital in the same channel of activity will force it to this: the manufactory paying the rate with the home and the education in it cannot compete with that which pays only the rate comprising the hovel. The competition of capital with capital, by force of the law of production, will seek and favor the cheapest labor, and it is by reason of this that the cheapest labor always drives out the dearer. The labor system of the Pacific States

is rapidly forming around this new fact. The Chinaman's grade of civilization offers a competition to the grade of civilization attained by white labor. As already shown, labor cannot rise above the level of its competition. The issue offered by slavery was the slave-hut against the home, and it is a renewal of that contest the Chinese question involves. This Chinese labor is the new slavery in America. Like the old slavery, it will drive out free labor; like the old slavery, it will reduce the free labor of this country to its level; like the old slavery, it will admit of but two classes, to wit, capitalists and servile laborers; like the old slavery, it tends to degrade all labor, or at least that kind of labor which is unskilled.

I have sought in this to make apparent an antagonism which I plainly perceive between American civilization and that of the Chinese. The American, to sustain his grade of civilization, must have wages consistent with that grade, while Chinese labor demands wages on a lower grade, thus offering a competition which in effect produces a reduction of our grade of civilization. If this contest were between two classes, each of whom desired to maintain the same grade of civilization, and the one by superior art, industry, ingenuity, and economy, was able to do so on lower wages, the other class would have no right to complain. The merit would be with the superior ingenuity and economy. But the case here is wholly different. This contest is between two grades of civilization. As the wages descend toward that rate demanded by and sufficient for Chinese civilization, all the higher comforts and embellishments of life will disappear from the heritage of labor. As the demand for the accessories and instrumentalities of culture and refinement declines, the cost of their production increases, thus widening the space above the reach of the laboring masses. Let me illustrate in a very primitive way. Whoever buys a book cheapens the cost of that book to another, because ten thousand copies may be sold at 50 per cent. of the rate on the scale of sales for one thousand copies. The Chinese do not buy books, but by their presence here they supplant that class of labor which would buy them, and by reason of the low grade of civilization they support they establish rates in the rewards of labor which make the purchase of books difficult if not impossible. The same illustration may be used as to a piano, or a picture, or carpet, or a newspaper. Take the case of newspapers. The Chinese have been here thirty years. Yet they have not acquired in the slightest degree the reading or advertising customs of our own people. In the labor they perform, they supplant a population which would patronize our literature and thereby contribute to the introduction of literature to the lowest conditions. In short, it seems clear to me that in the competition between the two grades of civilization the compromise ground will be found on a plane far below our own, and but little above that of the Chinese, because the latter is so rigid, so slow, and so tenacious. I do not mean to apply this to all classes. On the contrary, I think I see clearly the growth of a class possessed of greater wealth and consequently of more enlarged opportunities than would exist under the ordinary free-labor systems of this country.

ALLUREMENTS TO CAPITAL.

In fact this new slavery holds out alluring prospects to the capitalist classes. Americans are all capitalists in intention, just as in the other time the ambitious and spirited were slaveholders in intention, so that the number in favor of Chinese immigration is much larger than is generally supposed. This class is silent because it be-

lieves nothing can or will be done in the premises. The present and prospectively rich appreciate the advantages this new system of labor offers and will contest the case strongly before the close of the conflict. As soon as the public mind rests in the belief that the evil is in the way of ultimate extinction the paroxysm will subside and the processes by which it is obtaining a firmer hold will be resumed. I do not see sufficient reason for regarding this conflict as merely local. The same inherent laws govern capital and labor everywhere, while in the millions who now overpopulate the Chinese Empire the supply of the new species of labor is practically inexhaustible. The longer the evil subsists the more ineradically it will become interwoven with every interest and condition. In the case of slavery it was always possible to abolish it, and thus elevate the aspirations of the slave to the plane of the civilized free man. But it is a difficult matter to abolish the religious ideas and fixed aspirations of a civilization constantly re-enforced from an inexhaustible fountain. I cannot regard this contest in any other light than as the most notable and significant in the history of this country. It is the incipient stages of another race hegira, modified in conformity with modern conditions and institutions, but not less a displacement of one race by another than in the notable instances you will readily recall. The problem presented is one involving the establishment of a system of labor not merely cheaper than that obtainable in the free-labor system of this country, but possessing such organic features as embrace all the elements of an independent and antagonistic civilization. It promises only the degradation of our own.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM BETTER.

An accomplished gentleman, a member of the California bar, Judge Boalt, writing on this subject, after saying that our system has led us to believe that it is a good thing to promote schools and educate children, to contribute to churches and hospitals, to eat clean food and wear clean clothes, to think that overcrowding leads to immorality, that plenty of air and sunlight are necessaries of life, that our old and infirm must be properly cared for, that our habits, customs, and system of life are modeled on this standard, that it is impossible to change it at once, and until it is changed the Chinamen will always beat us in a competition where the habits that he learned in China are pitted against the habits we learned in America, says:

> But is it worth while to change our system? While there may be many defects in it, still does it not, upon the whole, work better than any system we know of? Suppose that we had an immigration of one hundred millions of Chinamen; suppose that their industry and economy were applied to our land and every acre beneficiated to its utmost; suppose that our productions were magnified until the possible height was reached—what then? Measured by acres, we should be much better off than we are now; but, measured by men, should we be any better off? Measured by the peace, prosperity, contentedness, cheerfulness, happiness of our people, should we have made any progress? I think not.

I do not care to go further into this subject at the present time, although it is inexhaustible. The people of the Pacific States demand relief. I am glad that their appeal is beginning to be heard. A great convention of laboring-men that assembled at Toledo on the 23d of February, representing nearly every State in the Union, unanimously resolved that—

> The importation of servile labor into the United States from China is a problem of the most serious importance, and we recommend legislation looking to its suppression.

The press of the country is treating the question seriously and fairly, as becomes its dignity; for instance, the Chicago Times says:

It becomes almost daily more plain that the "Chinese qnestion" is one which it is useless trying to ignore. Since the landing of the first ship-load of Asiatics at San Francisco it has grown in importance. From a mere local question, of concern only to a small and remote community, it has gradually assumed the magnitude of a qnestion of national concern, which those who exercise the national authority cannot dismiss by the sentimental observation that America is "an asylum for the oppressed of all nations." Men are beginning to discern that that once touching remark has really no sense in it, and that to say that America is an almshonse for the panpers of all countries, or a hospital for all the lepers on the globe, would be to express about the same meaning.

Other eastern papers have of late adopted this tone. A committee of the House of Representatives at the present session has favorably reported the resolution under consideration, and in a printed report ably elaborates the objections to the inflow of this heathenish Asiatic tide.

There are Senators who do uot assent to the objections which are made against Chinese immigration. One of them personally assured me that he wished there were fifty thousand Chinese in his State. I do not second his wish for the sake of the people of his State—a State in which the foot of a slave has never trod unless on his way toward freedom and the North Star. But if Senators wish this treaty to stand, and this importation of coolies to continue, let them make the treaty equal. We are admitted to five ports in China. Let the Chinese be confined to five ports in America, and let those ports be on the Atlantic. If this immigration suits you, take it. We object to it, for we kuow by bitter experience its immitigable curse.

PERSONAL REFERENCES.

To the personal refereuces made by this document I propose to pay slight attention. It is basely libelous of the people of the Pacific. It is scurrilously abusive of the representatives of California in Congress. It talks of these as "political aphides." It declares that I sat on the commission in violation of my oath as Senator. I quote:

Consider that one of the Senators went into the investigation an officer of an association pledged to expel this people, in violation of the treaty he was sworn to observe as one of the laws, (see page 1169, Appendix F, report joint special committee, and the testimony, report, page 261) of Cameron H. King, president of the "Anti-Chinese Union," that he, Mr. SARGENT, was a member thereof, and "one of the vice-presidents," and the constitution was presented in the presence of the Senator, the second article whereof declares its object to be "to compel the Chinese living in the United States to withdraw from the country."

I reply, *first*, I have never taken any oath to observe any treaty or law. *Second*, the witness who produced the constitution of the Anti-Chinese Union testified, after reading the names of honorary members, including both Senators from California, all the Representatives in Congress, the governor and other officers of the State, prominent lawyers, &c., that "all the prominent citizens of the State are in the list." It was a mere personal compliment. He explained that their names were used without the knowledge of the parties, and they were informed of their election afterward. I believe I received such a notice and do not think I ever ackuowledged receipt of it. The constitution in question provided—

Fourth. That only lawful means shall be used in the snppression of Chinese immigration, and the expulsion of the Chinese from the United States. The club shall not arm its members, nor organize itself into a military company.

Fifth. That the club, and each member thereof, will refrain from molesting, abnsing, or maltreating Chinamen and discourage and prevent, as far as possible, all unprovoked assaults upon Chinese residents.

With an orgauization with such purposes I would cheerfully co-

operate as freely as I would have done with an anti-slavery club before the war, or join a party with principles and purposes like those of the republican party of 1856, of which I was a member. On such premises this flippant document assails a Senator as violating his oath.

But I have not done with the author of this precious screed. By reference to Senate documents, second session Thirty-Second Congress, page 56 of document 56, Senators will find a letter of Elisha Whittlesey, Comptroller of the Treasury, addressed to Joseph C. G. Kennedy, superintending clerk of the census, in which he says:

It is my duty as an accounting officer to resist all false and fraudulent accounts that are presented for my revision; and a part of your accounts are of that character. If you suffer by having your charges tested by the truth, it is a necessary consequence of your dishonesty.

In Senate report 1, page 37, Senate documents, special session 1853, will be found a report of a select committee appointed by the Senate which contains the following findings:

From this it appears that the said items in the account of Mr. Kennedy were false; and, in regard to this point, the committee are of opinion and report, that Mr. Kennedy in this transaction attempted to obtain a credit on the Treasury of the United for nearly $400 by false and fraudulent pretenses.

Another finding is:

A. E. Kennedy was employed by Mr. Kennedy, Superintendent, as a clerk in the Census Office, at a salary of $1,000 per annum, on the condition that one-half of his salary or wages should be for the benefit of a lady, a near relative or connection of the Superintendent. * * * The committee deem it clear that in this transaction Mr. Kennedy exhibited a disposition to use, and did use, his official position as a means of availing himself of the public funds, to the extent mentioned, for his own private emolument and advantage, or that of his family.

If such acts are not the characteristics of an official aphis, no such thing exists.

Perhaps I owe a word to exonerate the committee from the aspersions of absenteeism cast upon it. Mr. Morton was in constant attendance when his bodily infirmities permitted. Senator Cooper was a constant and patient attendant. I never missed a moment of any session, neither did Mr. Piper. Mr. Wilson declined to serve at the time of his appointment, and did not act or report. Mr. Meade was the only one who was absent when part of the testimony was taken. The document which came in after Mr. Morton's death as his minority report, was a mere fragment, with large gaps in it, and so inconsistent with his remarks in the Senate at the time the majority report was presented as to raise the suspicion that it did not embody his views, and perhaps was not prepared under his hand. It ignored the great mass of the testimony taken, and dealt with the most superficial aspects of the question, lacking the breadth that characterized his usual productions.

But I have detained the Senate too long upon this question, vital as it is to the people of the Pacific. My excuse must be the momentous consequences that depend upon it.

Mr. President, I move that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. BOOTH. I did not know until yesterday that this subject was coming up for discussion to-day, and before the resolution is committed I desire that it may go back to the table, and next week I shall ask the Senate some time to hear me upon the subject, if my colleague has no objection.

Mr. SARGENT. Not at all. I should like to hear my colleague on the subject.

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CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HORACE DAVIS,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JUNE 8, 1878.

WASHINGTON.
1878.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

SPEECH

OF

HON. HORACE DAVIS.

The House being in session for general debate—

Mr. DAVIS, of California, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The question of Chinese immigration is regarded by the people of California with an intense interest of which citizens on this side of the continent have but little conception. Twenty-eight years ago the pioneer Chinaman was welcomed with an eager curiosity, but with no foresight of the eventful consequences of his coming. To-day, he is found in every village, in every mining camp, utterly an alien in the body-politic, and like some foreign substance in the human body, breeding fever and unrest till that system is relieved of its unwelcome presence. On the question of restricting his coming our community is almost a unit; except a few men who profit by his cheap labor, the sentiment of the people is nearly unanimous. It includes both political parties, all nationalities, all classes of the community.

The anti-Chinese societies include every nationality; both political parties have repeatedly expressed the same views on this subject in legislative enactments as well as in political platforms, and the sober sentiment of religious men is well expressed in a resolution unanimously adopted at the general association of the Congregational churches, October 9, 1877:

Resolved, That we express it as our conviction that the Burlingame treaty ought to be so modified and such other just measures be adopted by the General Government as shall restrict Chinese immigration, and shall especially prevent the importation of Chinese prostitutes and so relieve us from impending peril to our republican and Christian institutions.

In the city of San Francisco, my own home, this opposition is most keenly felt, as the body of Chinese is larger there than at any other point in the United States; and many thousands of unemployed men say with great bitterness that but for their presence work and bread would be plenty. For months past life and property have been threatened by this agitation, and to the wisdom of Congress we appeal to grant us that quiet and relief which our own Legislature has no power to give us.

Believing, as I do, that the indifference of Congress on this subject has arisen mainly from a lack of knowledge concerning the Chinese, I will ask your candid attention while I describe their social condition in California. I will then show you, first, that the presence of so large a foreign body unable or unwilling to assimilate to our ways renders them a dangerous element to society and a grave peril to the State; second, that their presence is a menace to free labor; and lastly, that the experience of other countries in dealing with this class of immigrants gives us no reason to hope for any change in these respects.

CHINESE QUARTER OF SAN FRANCISCO.

The Chinese quarter of San Francisco occupies from seven to eight small blocks in the heart of the city, in which are densely packed about twenty thousand human beings, which form two-thirds of its Chinese population. To pass into this quarter from the adjoining streets is like entering a foreign country. The streets are thronged with men in foreign costume; the buildings are decorated with strange and fantastic ornaments; the signs and advertisements are in queer, mysterious characters; the objects exposed for sale are new and strange; the ear hears no familiar sound, but is assailed with an incomprehensible jargon, and the very smells that pour from the cellars and open doors are utterly foreign and marvelous.

You wonder at the entire absence of females among these people and you find on inquiry that except a few wretched prostitutes this entire mass is composed of adult males. If you enter a house it is thronged with men; no women, no children, no family relation; everywhere crowds of men. In the lodging-houses they are stowed like steerage passengers in a ship; each room is packed full from floor to ceiling with berths, full of lodgers, but all adult males.

Their social organization rests upon what is called the "Six Companies," associations, each including all the immigrants from a certain district in China and each presided over by Chinese merchants of San Francisco. To some one of these companies is consigned every Chinaman coming to this country.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION MOSTLY CONTRACT LABOR.

Some of this emigration is purely voluntary, being composed of California Chinamen returning to try their fortunes again in the "Golden Mountains," and perhaps bringing with them friends or relatives; but far the larger part, I am convinced, has been and is contract labor.

Says Consul Boker, writing from San Francisco to the British government, in 1875:

> The general idea is that the six companies control immigration in every way; but, as far as I can learn, they do so only to a very limited extent. The six companies do not furnish means to enable Chinamen to come to this country. The necessary funds are supplied by parties making a regular business of it, who charge 250 per cent. for a loan if unsecured or 2 per cent. per month with tangible security.

Wealthy Chinese houses in Hong-Kong are employed in this business of collecting and shipping over these men. They send their agents to the densely crowded districts to pick up needy and desperate persons, to whom any change is a blessing, who are easily allured by promises of high wages in California.

To insure repayment of the passage-money and all charges, the Chinaman's labor is pledged for a term of years in advance or until the debt is worked out, and as security he mortgages his wife and children, or perhaps his relatives pledge themselves as security for the payment of the debt. Arriving in California he is taken in charge by the company to which he is consigned, who thenceforth receive the net proceeds of his labor till the debt is paid. When he wishes to return, no Chinaman, unless he be one of the very few who have joined the Christian churches, can obtain a passage to Hong-Kong on any vessel without a permit from the "Six Companies," who can thus enforce fulfillment of all these contracts, for no Chinaman ever abandons the hope of returning some day to the tombs of his fathers.

Rev. Otis Gibson, of the San Francisco Chinese Mission, in his work entitled Chinese in California, page 21, gives the following table,

taken from the registers of the "Six Companies," as representing all the Chinese in America, April 1, 1876:

Ning Yung Company	75,000
Hop Wo Company	34,000
Kong Chow Company	15,000
Yung Wo Company	12,000
Sam Yup Company	11,000
Yan Wo Company	4,300
Total	151,300

To these are to be added, I suppose, about six thousand women, of whom Rev. Mr. Gibson says, page 134:

> More than nine-tenths have been sold into a hopeless bondage worse than death. The women are bought in China and shipped across the ocean to this Christian land, to be sold again to minister to the lusts of wicked men for the profit of their more wicked masters.

I will not quote further from his description of this dreadful trade. In justice to the better class of Chinese merchants I will say here they have opposed this infamous traffic in girls, which has been conducted by a secret association known as the "Hip Yee Tong," a society strong enough to defy our laws and keep these poor creatures in slavery.

There are many other associations among the Chinese in California, prominent among which are the clubs or guilds of workmen, which exercise a controlling influence over their members, holding them in awe and subjection. I have no time to discuss here the moral aspects of these matters. The Chinese merchants are men of integrity and uprightness in their dealings, and the mass of laborers are industrious and frugal; while on the other hand the alleys of the Chinese quarter disclose forms and depths of vice and degradation without a parallel in America.

POLITICAL ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM.

The political problem presents the following elements: a mass of adult males, forming in California already two-fifths of our adult male population, utterly foreign, devoid of all sympathy with our country or its institutions, having no family relations or permanent home, enrolled under the vigilant watch of their "Six Companies," who hold a large part of them in the bondage of a temporary peonage. Let us examine some of the consequences.

And, in the first place, this persistent fondness with which the Chinamen cling to their nationality and separate themselves from other men, their incapacity to change their ways and adapt themselves to their surroundings—this alone renders them most undesirable immigrants, and it has been and is to-day, always and everywhere, their most marked trait.

They are the most conservative of men. Arriving at their present form of civilization many centuries ago, their development seems to have been arrested and ages of uniformity have fixed the type. And this rigidly crystallized national sentiment has nothing in sympathy with the social and political thought of a free people. Their social life degrades womanhood, and allows the mortgage and sale of the persons of both men and women, while their political aspirations are limited to a paternal despotism, with no conceptions of a popular government.

So they were born, and so they always remain. In California they are the same as they were twenty-five years ago. Nor is this surprising when we consider that although the aggregate number is

steadily increasing the individual members of it are constantly changing. They remain only five or ten years, long enough to make a few hundred dollars, a competence in China, and then return home to spend the remainder of their days. They bring no wives; they have no families and no permanent residence, and are essentially nomadic. No better evidence can be given of the folly of expecting any material change than the ill-success of the missionary efforts among them. The testimony of the missionaries themselves records only two hundred and fifty or three hundred converts as the fruits of twenty-five years of self-devoting labor among them in all the churches.

Over against this picture I hardly need to draw that of the European immigrant. He comes to this country to settle for life. He brings with him his wife and children. He adopts our language, mingles with our people, and becomes an American. And even if with the first generation the love of the fatherland strives with his affection for his new home, the next generation become American citizens. But with the Chinese the so-called immigration is simply an ebb and flow from the shores of Asia of a tide of men hopelessly foreign, without wish or intention to make this their home.

THEIR SECRET SOCIETIES DEFY OUR LAWS.

Another peril resulting from this singular isolation of these people is the formation of what is almost a foreign government in the very heart of the State. Living mainly apart from our people and separated from them by their own intense nationality and their ignorance of our language and laws, they look to their own officers rather than to our authorities for their guidance. The instinct of nationality leads them to shield one another from a breach of our laws, and our courts find it exceedingly difficult to punish criminals among the Chinese unless with the consent of their own authorities. On the other hand it is believed their secret societies inflict the severest penalties for the infraction of their own regulations, and on this point I will quote from the letter of the Rev. S. W. Blakeslee to the congressional commission of 1876, page 1242:

> They have a perfect government among themselves distinct from our own, with their laws, their secret courts of trial, and their police, executive, and other officers, the object of which is to perpetuate their race peculiarities, their clanship interests, and their religion, with terrible sanctions of law, even the death penalty, to enforce their regulations.

This difficulty has increased with their numbers, and seems to be entirely beyond our control. The result of all this is so plain I hardly need to recapitulate it. To have two-fifths of our adult male population without sympathy with our people or interest in the welfare of the Government or its institutions or knowledge of its laws, with their affections centered on a foreign government and holding allegiance thereto, all this must breed discord and civil strife. A people to be truly happy must be homogeneous.

We cannot expect absolute unanimity of sentiment, but we must hope for that harmony in variety where all love the country and respect its laws while they have enough in common to form a homogeneous and peaceful people. History is full of examples of the truth of this proposition. When two peoples on the same soil are nearly alike they blend into one harmonious whole, like the Saxon and Norman in England; but where the differences are great, discord and strife must ensue proportional to the difference of sentiment and the persistence of type. The Spaniard and the Moor, the Turk and the Bulgarian, will suggest themselves to every mind as eminent examples of the strength of this position.

I earnestly pray that California may never be the scene of such intestine strife. It would be far better that the development of the country should be arrested for years than that such a disaster should ensue. Material wealth is of trifling value beside the peace and concord of the people. Rather let us wait till the natural spread of our own people shall fill the fertile valleys of the Pacific States with contented settlers, men owning their homesteads, who have come to live and die in the land of their adoption.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION IMPERILS FREE LABOR.

But the most serious and really dangerous phase of this question is its relation to free labor.

In the pioneer days of California, when every idle man could find employment in the mines and there was plenty of work for all, there was no competition and consequently no strife. Bnt as the numbers of the Chinese increased they have gradually crept into many other employments, in some of which they have supplanted American workmen, till to-day they occupy exclnsively many fields of labor, especially the lighter kinds of manual labor where women and yonths ought to find place.

It is idle to say that these fields are open to all, and free competition should be the arbiter. Competition is impossible. The Chinaman has reduced the necessities of life to an absolute minimum. Without families to support, crowded together in dense masses, reducing the needs of life to a bare animal existence, they can force to the wall any other nationality and yet be rich as compared with their own condition in China. What competition is possible to the American laborer, with his wife to snpport and children to educate, ambitious to better his condition and afford his family reasonable comfort and enjoyment? Do yon wonder that there is agitation and that the workingman chafes when he sees himself crowded out of employment?

LABOR MADE DISREPUTABLE.

Nay, labor itself is degraded and made disreputable. That which must be the very corner-stone of a free republic is discredited and brought to shame. When every man holds a ballot our only hope of safety lies in the contentment and self-respect of the working classes. I appeal to those gentlemen on both sides of the Honse who have so eloquently set forth the rights of labor to stand by us in this issue and redeem us from a system which degrades labor and drives the workingman to the wall.

It is idle to talk of following the law of nature and letting things regulate themselves. Does the farmer let the laws of nature rnle his farm? If the cockle and the chess come up in your grain-fields, do yon leave them to fight it out with the grain? In your stables and barns, will your blooded stock maintain itself without care and protection? And are not the lives and happiness of your own countrymen as well worth your oversight?

All our laws for the protection of children, for the education of the people, in aid of the sick and the destitute, recognize the need of a fostering, paternal care of the Government for those who are unable to protect themselves.

Nay, your very revenue laws recognize the principle of protection. Yon discriminate in your tariff against foreign manufacturers and foreign artisans, and make the prosperity of our own workingmen the excuse for snch legislation. Will you not give them the same protection against Chinese immigration as against foreign manufact-

ures? Because the danger is at our very doors is it not all the more real?

A MONGOLIAN STATE.

If you deny us this protection, what shall we do? what can we do? This flood, which has been checked for the past two years by the fierce opposition of our laboring men, will resume its flow. So long as it pays, nothing but restrictive legislation will stop it. On the other hand, the movement of free labor to California will come to an end. Already it has fallen off greatly, and in place of a community of happy prosperous American citizens we shall have an aristocracy of large landed estates worked by a servile race, and perhaps in the end an Asiatic State.

Is this an imaginary danger? The Chinese Empire contains three hundred and fifty millions of population. Science has bridged the Pacific Ocean with a short and cheap transit. China is overstocked with men, and gaunt famine and want are driving them across. The London Times of February 19 says:

> It is stated on authority which cannot be questioned that seventy millions of human beings are now starving in the famine-stricken provinces of North China. * * * We cannot doubt that if the Chinese have found their way to America from the comparatively prosperous eastern provinces in thousands that they will pour forth in myriads from the famine-stricken districts of the north as soon as the way is opened to them. * * * The Chinese difficulty may speedily become a greater menace to the United States than ever the negro difficulty was at its worst, for negro immigration was never voluntary and ceased with the abolition of slavery, while if the Chinese tide once begins to flow in force it is difficult to see when and where it will stop.

THEY WILL FLOOD THE EASTERN STATES.

Who now will say the danger is imaginary? Already in California two-fifths of the adult male population is Chinese. Nevada and Idaho are filling up with them to the exclusion of settlers and their families. The advance guard has even crossed the Rocky Mountains and pushed out into several of the eastern cities, and before many years have passed the workingmen of the Atlantic States will begin to feel the sorrows of Chinese cheap labor. Wise men have long foretold this movement, and I find these remarkable words of warning by Sir John Bowring, himself for many years British governor of Hong-Kong, in his work on the Philippine Islands, published in 1859:

> The adventurous spirit in China is becoming more and more active. The tens of thousands who have emigrated to California and Australia, and the thousands who have returned with savings which they have deemed a sufficiency, have given an impulse to the emigrating passion. * * * The marvelous exodus of Chinese from their country is one of the most remarkable ethnological circumstances of modern history, and is producing and will produce extraordinary and lasting results.

The experience of the last nineteen years since the publication of this warning has confirmed his singular foresight, and will compel every thoughtful man to consider the consequences of this movement.

CHINAMEN NEVER CHANGE.

I have tried to draw the picture of the evils of Chinese immigration and the perils we may expect from it. I often hear it said this danger is overdrawn, that the Chinaman will settle down by and by, become Americanized, and behave much like the rest of us.

Now, this Chinese immigration has been going on for some hundreds of years to the Indian Archipelago, so that they are freely scattered throughout the East Indies, and of late years have emigrated to more distant countries. It is very difficult to obtain accurate sta-

tistics of this emigration, but the following is an approximate estimate of the number of Chinese in foreign countries:

United States	156,000
Australia and New Zealand	100,000
Singapore and Straits Settlements	105,000
Sumatra and Banca	150,000
Java	186,000
Borneo	250,000
Philippine Islands	50,000
Peru	100,000
Siam	1,500,000
Cochin China, Japan, Hawaiian Islands, Cuba, West Indies, British India, estimated at	300,000
Total	2,897,000

In forecasting the future of California it would be of great use to know the condition of these people, and you will find that in all those countries where they are found in considerable numbers the emigration presents the same difficulties as in California.

SIR JOHN BOWRING'S TESTIMONY.

And here again I will avail myself of the standard authority of Bowring, in whose Kingdom and People of Siam I find the following striking sketch:

> The extraordinary diffusion of the Chinese emigrants over all the regions from the most western of the islands of the Indian Archipelago in the Straits Settlements, in Siam and Cochin China, and now extending over a considerable portion of Western America, particularly in California, and reaching even Australia and Polynesia, is one of the most remarkable of the events of modern history and is likely to exercise a great influence on the future condition of man, for the Chinese do not emigrate to mingle with and be absorbed among other tribes and peoples. They preserve their own language, their own nationality, their own costume and religious usages, their own traditions, habits, and social organization.
>
> Though they intermarry with races among whom they dwell, the Chinese type becomes predominant, and the children are almost invariably educated on the father's model, the influence of the mother seeming almost annihilated. And though the Chinese frequently acquire large fortunes, great influence, and sometimes high rank as a consequence of their prosperity, the ties that bind them to their country seem never to be broken, and the tides of population flow Chinaward with every southwestern monsoon, to be replaced by a stronger stream when the monsoon of the Northeast sends the junks on their wonted way to the South.

Twenty-seven years that have elapsed since this was written have not changed the features of the picture further than to substitute the steamship for the lazy junk.

When the Chinaman comes in contact with a race his superior in civilization, as in Australia and the United States, the intermarriage of races ceases, and the isolation becomes more complete. But wherever these singular people are found they are always organized into companies or "hoeys," whose officers hold the main body in strict control, and who always form an interior government within the state which it is impossible for the authorities to suppress, and which in some cases the state has even recognized by law as the easiest way to manage the Chinese. It is also true that in most of these countries it has been found necessary to place them under greater restrictions, while almost everywhere they are subjected to heavier taxes than in America, and all this is just as true in countries like Java, where they have lived for hundreds of years as in California, where a quarter of a century measures their residence. I will now go briefly over this field of inquiry.

SINGAPORE.

In the British colony of Singapore are one hundred and five thousand Chinese, all males, forming a large majority of the population. The turbulence of the lower classes has caused serious alarm, and the management of them has puzzled their colonial legislature. Mr. Dunlop, the head of the police department, says:

> The majority of Chinese in this colony are members of some secret society. A member of a "hoey" stands in much greater dread of the society than of the Government. He would carry out the orders of the first and disregard the latter whenever he could do so.

The government tried to repress the disorder by legalizing the better class of societies and employing Chinese police, for these ruffians blackmailed even the wealthy Chinese merchants. "But," says Mr. Dunlop, "I found the detective Chinese were perfectly useless," and the government finally confessed their helplessness iu the following language, used by the colonial secretary:

> I do not believe that it would be possible to suppress these societies at present by any law which could be passed in a free country.

A suggestive sentence to men who favor Chinese immigration.

COCHIN CHINA.

At the French colony of Saigon the regulations are very strict. No Chinaman is allowed to land unless intending to remain. If he lands—

> He is taken directly by the police from the ship to the registrar's office, in presence of the chief of "congregations," or his representative. A ticket is handed to him, available for one year; this ticket mentions his name, age, "congregation," profession, date of delivery, and must always accompany him, and be produced at the request of any policeman whom he may meet on his way daily. The cost of the first year is $3 and for the ensuing years $5, for the ticket is to be renewed every year. There is an exception for the merchants, whose licenses supply the ticket, and who besides pay a duty of capitation of 300 francs for the first class.

The "congregations" here spoken of are the equivalents of our "Six Companies," groups of Chinese speaking one idiom, and associated together into a club. The French government recognizes these societies, forces every Chinaman to join one, and then holds the society responsible for his conduct. I will only add that all the Chiuese at Saigon are males, and they always intend to return to Chiua to die, even in many cases abandoning families they have raised with native wives. For this the government forbids their owning any real estate.

SIAM AND PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

In the kingdom of Siam the immigrants are all males, and though many marry Siamese women "and become permanent settlers, there is perhaps no example," says Bowring, "of an utter abandonment of the intention to return to the Flowery Fatherland." They pay a poll-tax of $3 on entering the country, which is re-collected triennially, "and are compelled to wear a cord round the wrist with a seal, justifying the payment. The richer merchants pay a treble amount and are relieved from the badge."

The regulations of the Spanish colony of the Philippine Islands are very similar to those at Saigon. The Chiuese are separated by their dialects into groups which choose their own officers. These officers are recognized by the Spanish government and endowed with limited civil and criminal jurisdiction. They also collect the taxes and are held responsible for the conduct of the members. Every Chinaman must be registered on arrival and must join one of the groups. All the emigrants are males and most of them return home to die. They are very heavily burdened with special taxes.

AUSTRALIA.

The Australian colonies long ago found the presence of the Chinese onerous, and tried to relieve themselves of the burden by special taxation. In 1855 the Parliament of Victoria imposed a capitation tax of £10 on every Chinaman entering the colony. In 1865, the number having much diminished, the act was repealed. In 1861 the colony of New South Wales imposed a similar tax, which was repealed in 1867 under similar circumstances. In 1876 the colony of Queensland passed a law of the same character, which was disallowed by the Queen, but in 1877 the colonial Parliament passed another act, requiring every Chinese immigrant to make a deposit of £10, to be repaid to him if within three years he should leave the colony, and should prove to the colonial treasurer that he had never been a charge upon the revenues of the colony. This law was allowed by the home government, and is now in force.

The social condition of the Chinese in Australia is in every respect the counterpart of California—no women, no families, all birds of passage.

JAVA.

With the Chinese in Java I will close this review. In Java they have lived for hundreds of years, longer than our people have lived in America, still they are no more domesticated than in California or Australia, their latest places of resort. They bring no women, and always contemplate a return to China when they have made a competence. They are grouped as elsewhere in societies, and the Dutch have been compelled to recognize these societies and make use of them as is done in Manila to assist in the government of these people.

The officers are given a limited jurisdiction over the members, and are held responsible for their conduct and for the collection of the taxes. These taxes are very heavy, many of them levied exclusively on the Chinese. I cannot better close this sketch than with the language of the council of Batavia, as quoted by Sir Stamford Raffles:

> The Chinese being the most industrious settlers should be the most useful, but, on the contrary, have become a very dangerous people, and are to be considered as a pest to the country, for which evil there appears to be no radical cure but their expulsion from the interior.

Sir Stamford himself says:

> From their peculiar language and manners they form a kind of separate society in every place where they settle. Their ascendency requires to be carefully guarded against and restrained.

WHAT IS OUR REMEDY?

What, then, is our remedy? The State of California has endeavored to arrest the flood, but without avail. Her statutes passed to this end have been pronounced unconstitutional and set aside. Even the United States laws against importation of contract labor have proved to be powerless, and we come again to Congress imploring relief. A modification of the Burlingame treaty is suggested, which is certainly desirable, but with the slow workings of diplomatists and the interminable delays incident to this battle of words, years may elapse before even this can be secured; and when the treaty is modified what have we gained? There were fifty thousand Chinamen in California before the treaty was ratified, and practically they enjoyed the same rights then as now.

What we want is instant relief, instant assurance that the tide shall be stopped now. What we want is positive restrictive legislation.

POWERS OF CONGRESS.

It has been urged that this bill would modify an existing treaty and is consequently beyond the power of Congress, but our constitutional power to deal with the matter is very clear. This power has been actually exercised by Congress and has been passed upon by the courts. On July 7, 1798, under the stress of severe provocation by the French, Congress passed "An act to declare the treaties heretofore concluded with France no longer obligatory on the United States," (1 Statutes at Large, 578;) and the power to pass laws in contravention of existing treaties has been repeatedly affirmed by the courts. I will content myself with briefly alluding to the decisions. In the case of Taylor *et al. vs.* Morton, (2 Curtis's Circuit Court Reports,) in 1855, Judge Curtis said:

> To refuse to execute a treaty for reasons which approve themselves to the conscientious judgment of the nation is a matter of the utmost gravity and delicacy; but the power to do so is a prerogative of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting its independence.
>
> That the people of the United States have deprived their Government of the power, I do not believe.
>
> That it must reside somewhere, and be applicable to all cases, I am convinced, and I feel no doubt that it belongs to Congress.

This decision was reaffirmed by Judge Woodruff in April, 1871. (8 Blatchford, 304.)

The same doctrine is held in 1 Woolworth's Circuit Court Reports, 155, by Judge Miller, in 1867, and finally by the United States Supreme Court in 1870, in the Cherokee tobacco case, 11 Wallace, 616, in which Mr. Justice Swayne said:

> The effect of treaties and acts of Congress when in conflict is not settled by the Constitution. But the question is not involved in any doubt as to its proper solution. A treaty may supersede a prior act of Congress and an act of Congress may supersede a prior treaty.

The power of Congress under the Constitution to deal with this matter being clearly established, it ouly remains to discuss the question whether the bill proposed would be a breach of national faith toward the Chinese government.

NO BREACH OF FAITH TOWARD THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

And I maintain that this measure would not be such a breach of faith with the Chinese government as would justify complaint on their part, provided due notice is given them of our intentions in the matter. We simply give them notice that we intend at a future time to modify an agreement of ten years' standing which has worked to our harm. The Burlingame treaty, concluded in a gush of generous sentiment, is a singularly one-sided bargain. We gain little or nothing by it, while we guarantee to the Chinaman privileges which they never pretend to grant to us. We open all our ports to them, while they limit us to a few of theirs; we throw open our whole country to their occupation, while in China no American has any right to reside outside a treaty port. Nay, in many parts of China an American cannot even travel without danger of losing his life; and to crown all, we grant these privileges to one hundred and fifty thousand Chinamen while the Americans in China consist of only a few hundred. The bare statement of the terms of the bargain is enough to prove its absurdity and to justify us in declaring our intention to modify it.

NO REAL IMMIGRATION.

Nor do I think the bill is any violation of the spirit in which we accepted the treaty. Under it there is no real immigration, such as our country seeks to encourage. I have shown already that the Chinese

do not come to settle, do not bring wives or families, nor do they ever mean to make this their home; that the larger part of the immigration comes under labor contracts and is hostile to our system of free labor. In short, there is no real immigration under the treaty. On the other hand, so far as the demands of commerce and travel are concerned, the bill allows enough to satisfy their requirements.

CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA HAVE ASKED FOR RESTRICTIVE LAWS.

And lastly, the Chinese themselves will make no objection to the bill. The "Six Companies" of California have repeatedly declared their desire to have us restrict the further immigration of their countrymen. In their "Manifesto to the American public," April 1, 1876, they say, (Gibson, page 301:)

Our six companies have, year after year, sent letters discouraging our people from coming to this country, but the people have not believed us and have continued to come. The necessary expense of these poor new-comers is a constant drain upon those already settled here, so that the Chinese residents of this country are also opposed to this rapid Chinese immigration.

They use similar language in their address to President Grant the same year, and on the 16th of January, 1878, they forwarded a dispatch to Hon. William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, through their agent, in which he says:

SIR: After a full and final conference with the representative Chinamen of California in reference to restricting the further immigration of their people, I am requested to convey to you the following suggestions, which, if carried out by this Government, will most assuredly meet their views and quite effectually stop further immigration.

First. That Congress enact a law entailing a capitation tax of $100 upon each subject of China landing in the United States.

Second. That the money so collected may be used to return their indigent countrymen to China, with such other restrictions as may seem best to the minds of the humane and distinterested representatives of this great Government.

CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD APPROVE.

And we have every reason to believe such a measure as we propose would be regarded with satisfaction by the Chinese government. The moral sentiment of that people has always opposed emigration, and nothing but the extreme pressure of want has ever driven them to leave their country, while the government has steadily discouraged it, manifesting a singular indifference to the fate of its citizens who have abandoned the Flowery Kingdom.

In 1740 the Dutch of Batavia, in a frenzy of fear caused by a revolt of the Chinese on the island, massacred all the Chinese in the city. I quote from Stockdale's Java:

Much apprehension existed that this would excite the indignation of the Emperor of China, and a letter was written and deputies sent the following year to apologize. The emperor calmly answered that "he was little solicitous for the fate of unworthy subjects, who, in the pursuit of lucre, had quitted their country and abandoned the tombs of their ancestors."

This is an extreme case, but it illustrates their national sentiment toward emigration.

CHINESE GOVERNMENT DID NOT OPPOSE ENGLISH AND FRENCH RESTRICTIVE LAWS.

If there were any doubt on that point it would be laid at rest by the utter indifference with which the Chinese have regarded the restrictive legislation of the English and French colonies, which I have quoted above. In October, 1860, the Chinese government entered into conventions with both these powers, providing among other things for free emigration to the English and French possessions. The fifth article of the English convention is as follows:

As soon as the ratifications of the treaty of 1858 shall have been exchanged His

Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China will, by decree, command the high authorities of every province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions that Chinese choosing to take service in the British colonies, or other parts beyond sea, are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China; also that the high authorities aforesaid shall, in concert with Her Britannic Majesty's representative in China, frame such regulations for the protection of Chinese emigrating as above, as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand.

This article, as declared by Lord Caruarvon, secretary of state for the Colonies, contemplated "that all Chinese subjects should have full freedom of entering the British dominions without special restrictions or impedimeuts," and in the teeth of all this the Victoria statute heretofore quoted remained in force till 1865. The statute of New South Wales was passed iu 1861, after the convention, aud remained in force six years, and the Queenslaud statute of 1877 has received the royal sauction; each and all of which laws imposed special taxes on Chinese immigrauts.

The ninth article of the French convention is as follows:

It is agreed between the high contracting parties that as soon as the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin shall have been exchanged an imperial edict will be issued to the superior authorities of all the provinces of the empire to permit every Chinese who shall wish to go into countries situated beyond the seas for the purpose of settling or seeking his fortune there, to ship himself and his family, if he wishes, on board of the French vessels which may be found in the ports of the empire open to foreign commerce.

It is also agreed that in the interests of these emigrants, for the purpose of securing their entire freedom of action and preserving their interests, the competent Chinese authorities shall join with the French minister in China in making regulations which shall secure for these engagements, which must always be voluntary, such assurance of good faith and security as ought to govern them.

And in defiance of the liberal provisions of this article the Freuch colony of Saigon imposes special taxes and restrictions on every Chinaman iu its limits. But the government of China, regarding these restrictive laws with entire indifference, has never made the least remonstrance, and I am sure will care no more for the measure here proposed, but will view it with the same unconceru.

CONCLUSION.

In the beginning of these remarks I tried to give you some picture of the Chinese population of the Pacific States, an army of nomads having neither allegiance to our Government uor sympathy with our people. I showed you how dangerous to a republic must be this hostile element in its midst, like a foreign army encamped among its people.

I warned you of the rise of a power like the secret societies of the Middle Ages, working within our own Government and defying its laws. I pointed out the discredit, peril, and distress this element of population has brought to free labor.

And lastly, I appealed to the experience of other nations who have permitted Chinese immigration and showed you that wherever it has been allowed the same unvarying features mark their presence, and that after centuries of contact with other people in the islauds of the East Indies their race peculiarities are just as distinct as they are to-day in California; so that our only hope lies in a law restricting their coming.

We earnestly entreat you not to disappoint us in this hope. Our State is torn asunder with discontent and agitation over this all-absorbing question. Assure the anxious hearts of our people that your sympathies are with us, and let us have peace. You republicans and you democrats make good the promises of your party leaders, over

and over again pledging us your aid in Congress. Men of all parties who hate the memory of slavery relieve our young State from the blight of contract labor.

Champions of industry, as you would maintain the dignity, the self-respect, and the independence of labor, help the workingman buffeting against this flood which threatens to sweep him under. Soldiers, fresh from the horrors of civil war, avert from us the specter, however distant, of intestine strife, of a State divided against itself, and of a war of races.

The safety of the Republic lies in a contented people, loving their country and respecting its laws. No material prosperity can atone for the want of that allegiance. As we cherish the traditions of one flag, one Constitution, and one common country, so we can only work out one common destiny as a united and harmonious people.

5

LETTERS

OF

KWANG CHANG LING.

THE CHINESE SIDE OF THE CHINESE QUESTION, BY A CHINESE LITERATE OF THE FIRST CLASS,

COMMUNICATED TO THE

SAN FRANCISCO ARGONAUT,

OF THE DATES OF

AUGUST 7TH, 10TH, 17TH, AND SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1878.

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WHY SHOULD THE CHINESE GO?

A Pertinent Inquiry from a Mandarin High in Authority.

LETTER I.

PALACE HOTEL, August 2, 1878.

TO THE ARGONAUT:—You will doubtless gather from the superscription and general appearance of this letter that I am what Europeans, in the abundance of their vanity, would be very likely to regard as an anomaly—an educated Chinaman. In a word, I speak and write your language, as I believe, correctly. And it is because of this slight accomplishment that my general unworthiness has been overlooked by my countrymen residing in California, and I have been selected by them to communicate to the public the Chinese side of the Chinese question. The ARGONAUT has been especially preferred as the medium for the promulgation of these views on account of its reputed fairness to all.

The cry is here that the Chinese must go. I say that they should not go; that they can not go; will not go. More than this, that, were it conceivable that they went, your State would be ruined; in a word, that the Chinese population of the Pacific Coast have become indispensable to its continued prosperity, and that you cannot afford to part with them upon any consideration.

If this be true—and I believe I can demonstrate it even to your satisfaction—the truth is an important one. It concerns every element of the future social life of California; it lies at the basis of your industries; it is bound to subvert that demagogism by which your politics, as you call it, have been degraded to a level scarcely higher than incendiarism, pillage and murder.

Before I begin, let me describe the spirit in which I propose to discuss this subject. In the first place I intend to be just; to differ from you honestly; to be influenced by neither prejudice, hatred nor resentment; to employ no specious arguments; to set up no weak issue, the easier to demolish it; to employ respectful language; to advance no facts which are not either well known to history or established in the course of the discussion itself.

Clothed in this dignity of discourse, I enter the lists without fear. I am upon your soil; I am surrounded at the best by unsympathetic spectators; my only buckler is the truth; my only weapon your language, the peculiarities of which can never be wholly mastered by a foreigner. Far from complaining of any disadvantage in these respects, I am free to own that no soil is freer, no assemblage more noble, no regulations more just than those which claim the proud title of American.

And now let the heralds be heard and my grievance stated. Hear, oh, ye just and valiant men, ye beauteous and compassionate women, the plaint of Kwang Chang Ling, a *literate* of the first class, a warrior and noble, a leader of the Chinese and a representative by authority.

The first intercourse in modern times between Europe and China took place in the early part of the thirteenth century, when Genghis Khan, our first Mongol emperor, carried an imperial army and the cause of Deism, or, as you now call it, Unitarianism, (I use the word advisedly), through idolatrous Russia. In 1235, Oktai, son of Genghis, dispatched his nephew, Batu Khan, with 500,000 men, who, in the same cause, conquered Russia, Poland and Silesia, including the strongly fortified cities of Cracow and Lublin. This prince met and overthrew in battle Prince George II., of Prussia; Henry, Duke of Breslau; and Bela IV., of Hungary; only resting his victorious army after he had encamped in Dalmatia and floated the ensign of China above the Venitian sea.

In 1240, and while still occupied in that religious regeneration of Eastern Europe, which had been commenced by the illustrious Genghis, Prince Batu died, leaving command of the army of occupation to Prince Barkah. In 1245, after news had reached Europe of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Kharizmians and the treacherous massacre of the Knights Templar and other Christian inhabitants, the Seventh Crusade was proclaimed, and Pope Innocent IV., of Rome, and Louis IX., of France, united in an entreaty to the Chinese prince to combine with them in chastising the Moslem. This [illegible] he was inclined to grant for two reasons: First, the Chinese sympathized wi[illegible]

tianity, which had been tolerated and allowed to be preached in China since the advent of the Nestorian Olopwen in 636; second, at the time of Prince Batu's death he was preparing a force to conquer Turkey and uproot Mohammedanism. But, insurrection breaking out in Russia, Barkah was compelled to march thither and forego the pleasure of uniting his forces with those of the Christian monarchs. When, at a later period, Pope Boniface VIII. sent a number of Catholic missionaries to our country, they were received with kindness and permitted to preach their doctrines without molestation.

So much for the first intercourse betwen China and modern Europe. To you, Genghis Khan was a cruel marauder at the head of an army of robbers and murderers, who overran Eastern Europe for spoil. To us, he was a great religious leader, who sought to uproot idolatry and establish a pure and simple deism in its place. The idea of leaving a rich country like China to find spoil upon the desolate steppes of Russia, or amongst the wretched peasants of Prussia or Hungary, is absurd. If our generals had been after spoil they would have marched into Western Europe for it. There was no physical obstacle to stop them. They had more men-at-arms equipped and encamped in Dalmatia than all Europe could have raised in a year. But there was a moral obstacle in the way. Western Europe was a Christian country, and with the religion of Christ the Chinese leaders had no quarrel. And so, from the confines of Christendom, within whose borders they never entered, these half a million of warriors, with whom Prince Barkah had crossed the Danube, were marched back over five thousand miles, chiefly of arid wastes, to the Flowery Kingdom and their homes.

If you have anything in the history of your civilization to match the magnitude of these expeditions, the distances they traversed, the grandeur of their mission, and the sublime restraint they exercised toward Christian Europe, we Chinamen would be glad to hear of it. I am sure you will not find it in the expeditions of Cortez or Pizarro, who, between them and in the name of your religion, butchered several millions of the peaceful and inoffensive inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, and reduced the remainder to the cruel slavery of the mines. Nor is it to be found in the annals of the Thirty Years War, nor in the records of the Inquisition.

But it is not to invite such comparisons that these episodes of history have been introduced. My object is a higher one. This is to compare the military power and resources of China and Western Europe at three critical periods of their intercourse—at the period of the Chinese invasions of the thirteenth century, at the opening of maritime commerce by Europeans in the sixteenth century, and at the present time.

When the hosts of Batu Khan overlooked the Adriatic Sea, they were clad in steel armor and mounted on fleet horses. Their arms consisted of the sword, battle-ax, mace, bow-gun, and culverin. With the exception of the pieces used by the Arabs in Spain, who had obtained a knowledge of gunpowder from China, through commercial channels, these culverins were the only artillery in Europe. In a word, the arms and accoutrements of the Chinese were at that period vastly superior to those employed throughout Europe generally; the numbers of their armies were far greater, and their discipline was perfect; and as to their prowess, this is attested by their conquests, and still more by the almost entire silence of European history concerning them.

At this period, save in Mohammedan Spain, Western Europe was steeped in poverty, ignorance and despair. Its civilization had been long decaying; its population had dwindled from sixty millions, in the time of the Antonines, to thirty millions when the Inquisition was established. Society had become so debased that in the eleventh century human beings were employed as a circulating medium in Britain, and the price of a man was less than that of a hawk.

In the twelfth century, and as a sign of his superiority, Pope Celestine III. kicked the crown off the head of the Emperor, Henry VI. Kings then lived in huts, and peasants in holes in the ground, where they slept with the pigs. The common garment was a sheepskin, which was worn through life. That of Thomas a' Becket had to be peeled from his back after he died. Woolen garments were worn at a later date, and at first only by the feudal lords and their principal retainers. As for undergarments, these were only known to the Arabs.

The continent was divided into a great number of petty kingdoms—in France alone there were twenty-nine, each with its own dynasty and history—and each kingdom into an infinite number of feudatories. The kings were mere figure-heads; the real power lay locally with the feudal lords, and continentally with the Pope. Indulgences were bought and sold in open day; the grossest sensuality prevailed, and every tendency toward progression was smothered in the folds of a sordid ecclesiasticism and a profligate aristocracy.

In a word, in the thirteenth century, China stood at the height of her power and magnificence; Europe at the lowest point of her decadence. Magna Charta was not written until 1215, and had to be confirmed above fifty times during three centuries before its reforms were assured. Coal—that illimitable reservoir of mechanical force, which has subverted the relations and revolutionized the history of races—was not discovered in Newcastle until 1239, nor made an article of traffic until 1381. The Crusades, the inventions of gunpowder and printing—both obtained from China—the discovery of America, the reformation; in short, all of those causes or influences to which the civilization of

Modern Europe has been variously ascribed, had yet to occur. When these did occur Europe rose to power, whilst at the same time, China, from causes which I need not enter into here, fell into decay. We have seen how China behaved toward Europe when the latter was at her mercy. We have next to trace the attitude of Europe toward China upon the opening of Oriental commerce and since that time—that is to say, ever since Europe has become the stronger. This exchange of conditions had partly occurred before the Portugese rounded the Cape of Good Hope. At this period China was in a decaying and feudal condition, while the causes referred to were soon to infuse fresh life, vigor and resources into Europe. It was the Europeans who were now the better armed and equipped. Their ships, their artillery, their small arms, were all better than ours. We shall presently see what use they made of them.

Meanwhlle, let us rapidly glance at the condition of the Celestial Empire. It was, as I have stated, in a feudal condition, and so, in great measure, it continues to this day, Although the just pride of the Emperor will not permit him to admit the fact, his power over the numerous provinces, islands, and vassal and tributary states, which compose his dominions, is far from complete.

Europeans do not appear to understand this condition of affairs; yet it has had much to do with their misunderstandings of my countrymen. The foreigners who have at various times sought and obtained imperial permission to trade at certain ports of China supposed, perhaps, when this permission was obtained, that they had a complete right to trade. But this by no means followed. There remained to be obtained the permission of the feudatory or local authorities of the territory in which the trading was to be done. This permission was not always sought after, and forcible attempts were made to trade without it—attempts that invariably gave rise to further misunderstandings.

As feudalism of the type now existing in China has been long since extinguished in Europe, it is difficult to illustrate the injustice of these attempts by reference to any governmental arrangements that now exist in the Western World. The best simile I can think of would be furnished by an effort on the part of foreigners to lay a railroad through the United States under a charter from the Federal Government, and without obtaining permission from the States. But, after all, the resemblance between feudalism and federalism is very faint. Happily for Americans the Federal Governmeut possesses sufficient military strength to keep the States in subordination, and the States sufficient respect for the Federal Constitution not to defy its authority; but such is not the case in China, nor has it been for several centuries. The great vassals of the empire divide much of its power between them; sometimes they even create the Emperor.

It was in the year 1498 that the Portuguese, under Vasco de Gama, made their way around the Cape. In 1510, under Albuquerque, they treacherously seized the East Indian city of Goa, and leaving a garrison in it, sailed away to Malacca, which they had seen and coveted in 1508. This great city they treacherously and piratically captured. The superiority of their arms will be understood when it is stated that this act was committed by only eight Portuguese, assisted by two hundred Malabar natives. They plundered Malacca of "a booty so enormous that the quinto, or fifth, of the King of Portugal amounted to 200,000 gold cruzadoes, a sum equivalent to $5,000,000," exclusive of ships, naval stores, artillery, and other property. Malacca was at that time a vassal state of the Chinese Empire, and our first acquaintance with maritime Europe was, therefore, begun on its part by the greatest act of piracy the world has ever witnessed. Pizarro's plundering of Peru, committed a few years later, was nothing compared with it. Hearing at Malacca of the great Chinese cities to the northeast, and hoping, no doubt, to pillage them, as his companions had pillaged Goa and Malacca, one of the Portuguese, Raphael Perestralo, sailed away in a junk to view our coast. Finding the Chinese better prepared for pirates than he expected, he returned to Malacca.

The result of this reconnoissance was that a pretended "embassy" was dispatched from Lisbon in 1518, under Ferdinand Andrada, to treat with the Emperor of China for permission to trade. Andrada, the first European to land at a seaport of China, appeared off the harbor of Canton in the same year, and was allowed to disembark and to send an envoy to the Emperor at Peking. This envoy, whose name was Thomas Perez, was kindly received, loaded with presents, and accorded the favors he sought. He at once visited all the sea-coast towns, and after a rapid survey of them returned to Canton and joined his colleague Andrada. Meanwhile, Andrada's brother Simon appeared off the coast in command of a piratical squadron, pillaging the inhabitants and seizing young women. He then built a fort on the island of Taywan and extorted money from every vessel bound to or from Canton; not supposing but that his brother Ferdinand was on board of his own ship and safe from Chinese reprisal. Thus it appeared that this band of "embassadors" were nothing but a lot of adventurers and cut-throats, whose sole object was plunder and rapine. So soon as their doings became known, Perez and Andrada were seized in Canton, tried, and condemned to pay a fine, and to leave the country—a mild punishment for their great offenses. Pending the payment of this fine a subject of the Sultan of Malacca arrived at Peking, and related the story of the pillage of that town by the Portuguese. The true character of these scoundrels was now clear beyond a doubt. They were again seized, this time on charges of high treason, and condemned to death; their lives being offered them on condition of restoring Malacca. Failing to do this, they were all executed in 1823.

I have related the particulars of this our first transaction with natives of maritime Europe because it is a type of all the others that followed from that time until the opium war of 1842. The naval commanders of the sixteenth century were little more than pirates, and so long as they succeeded in filling the royal treasuries of Europe with gold and silver, their sovereigns were quite ready to close their eyes to the means by which this wealth was acquired. Such was the character of Albuquerque, Andrada, Cortes, Pizarro, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Henry Morgan, and numerous others. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English came to China as the Spaniards had visited Mexico and Peru, and as the English afterward visited the West India Islands, the Spanish Main, and the East Indies—to plunder it. At first we did not suspect them of such designs, and being especially a peaceful and commercial people, we listened to their proposals of trade, and threw the whole country open to them. It was only after repeated evidences had convinced us that they designed to treat China as they had treated Spanish America and Hindostan that we adopted the policy of restriction, which afterward came to be looked upon, however erroneously, as essentially Chinese. The real fact of the matter is that we desired to trace even more strongly than you did, only, observing that your guns were heavier and your men stronger than ours, that your traders were little better than bandits, and your naval commanders a parcel of swash bucklers, deemed it prudent to conduct the trade solely at Macao and Canton, where, confined to limited districts and the management of the Hongs, it might not be used as a means of gaining entrance to the country, and of tampering with our vassal states, as had been done in Mexico, Peru and Hindostan.

Perhaps you may think that the Chinese question in California has little to do with all this. Well, we shall see. The trouble about the Chinese question is, that it has hitherto been viewed from too low and narrow a standpoint. It has been forgotten that nations have histories, and that their relations toward one another are not to be determined altogether by present or local considerations.

This may not be perceptible to my friends of the sand-lot, who, as workingmen, inspire my respect, while as historians and logicians they excite only my amusement. But it will be perceived the moment it comes to be practically decided, and it may then be too late to discuss this matter. For this reason, and because a peaceful solution of this question is desirable, both for your people and ours, I prefer, with your honorable permission, to discuss it now.

KWANG CHANG LING.

LETTER II.

PALACE HOTEL, August 2, 1878.

TO THE ARGONAUT:—In my last communication I showed that when, in the thirteenth century, China was superior to Europe in population, civilization, and arms, and that although she was able to do, and did march half a million of well equipped men to the shores of the Adriatic, she paused there out of respect for christianity and the social progress of mankind, and led her vast hosts back to their distant homes without molesting the West. I showed, also, when, in the sixteenth century, these conditions of strength had become reversed—when China had become the weaker and Europe the stronger—what bad use the latter made of its superiority, and how nothing short of rigorous exclusiveness on our part could have saved our country from being desolated by European arms and enslaved by European adventurers.

It will not do for you to claim that you Europeans had no intentions of this sort; for history would belie you. What was Columbus' objective point when he sailed to the West? Cathay, that far famed China, whose riches had been portrayed in the glowing pages of Marco Polo. To his dying day the great Captain supposed the shores of Hispaniola were those of Cathay, and that he had only to explore farther in order to reach the civilized portion of that vast empire. What land did the Spaniards suppose they were on when they ravaged the Mexican Empire? China. It was always China of which you were in search, and had you found it there can be no doubt that you would have despoiled it as you despoiled the lands which you mistook for it.

Nor will it do for you Americans to claim exemption from reproach on the ground that these atrocious transactions were the work of other nations than your own. You are all as one nation in your attitude toward China. When one of you obtains a concession from the Imperial Government, no matter how unjustly—witness the treaties after the wars of 1842 and 1858—the others are sure to demand similar concessions.

When one of you gains an advantage from us the others are certain to claim a similar advantage. Because the Portuguese obtain a footing at Macao, the British must have the Island of Hongkong. When any misfortune happens to us, you are all so eager to profit by it that you stand by one another as a single body. Thus, when the Taiping

rebellion threatened to subvert the Empire, your war-ships all swung coldly at their anchorages in our harbors, like so many vultures waiting for their prey to expire; and so far from offering to help us, you helped the rebels. More than this, you took advantage of the occasion to make war upon us. I do not blame you; I merely state a fact. You are united by the bonds of a religion which you fancy to be the source of your greatness, and to be filled with the promise of more. The Spanish conquistadores used to carry the symbol of their faith in front of their armies; modern Europe more discreetly smuggles it into the "most favored nation" clause of its treaties with China.

The inferiority of our arms to yours at the period of our early maritime intercourse is evinced, not only by the easy fall of Malacca, but also by the fact that chief among the goods we used to purchase of you were European muskets. It is also proved during the bombardment of our ports in the opium war, when the British found our batteries to contain only cast-iron three pounders, and sometimes only representations of guns painted on canvas.

When we came to acquire the knowledge of European arms, and the way to make them, the fear of invasion and subjection became lessened; but it has never wholly passed away, nor can it pass away until China wholly emerges from the feudal condition in which she still lingers. This condition is one of great peril to her imperial autonomy. The efforts of the central government have to be continually exercised to keep the great feudatories in subjection. When I state that there are lords in China who own greater domains, and are more wealthy, than any individual in Christendom, whilst the people are extremely poor, you will understand me. For instance, when Prince Keshen was condemned in 1841 for having suffered defeat in the opium war, there was confiscated of his property $7,500,000 in gold, $2,667,000 in silver, and other goods worth still more—in all about $25,000,000 worth. A country whose lords are thus rich is easily subdued. Her millions of soldiers count for nothing, because they belong to the feudatories, and these may be easily divided by a crâfty foe. Witness the operations of Cortez in Mexico and Clive in India.

From these facts and considerations; from the absence on our part of hostility toward European civilization, as evinced by our forbearance toward you when, in the thirteenth century, we were stronger; from the existence on your part of hostility toward our civilization, as evinced by the bad use you made of your superiority when in the sixteenth century, you had become the stronger; from the feudal condition of our empire and the fear entertained by our government even now, when our weapons are the same as yours, that China may be conquered and reduced by you as have been Mexico, Peru and India—from these facts and considerations, I say, we would much prefer to have no dealings with you; we would rather close our ports and maintain a policy of entire isolation from the European world.

The trouble with Europe, however, is that such a policy would not suit its interests. You desire to possess every conceivable privilege of trade, residence, religion, etc., for Americans in China, whilst you would deny all of them to Chinamen in America. And this brings us directly to the Chinese question in California.

Let it be fully understood at the outset that we Chinese have never sought to obtain leave for our people to live in your countries, except as a counterpoise to a similar permission first sought on your part. Nearly two thousand years before a Chinaman ever settled in Europe, Europeans settled in China. Not only this, they were protected in their persons, their property, and their religion. Furthermore, the Emperor, Tienpan, went so far as to build a Christian church for Olopwen and order it to be supported out of the public coffers. And this was five hundred years before Christianity was introduced even into some parts of Europe—for example, Russia.

When the elder Polos visited us, we treated them well. They remained with us for more than fifteen years, and then departed freely, carrying away great wealth. When Marco Polo came, he was similarly treated. He remained twenty years, and when he departed, which he did at his own request, he was loaded with presents and other favors. During all this time we sent none of our people to Europe. It was you always that sought permission to dwell with us, whilst we never came to you. And observe what you gained by it. You took from us the inventions of the mariners' compass, sails for ships, rudders, gunpowder, paper, printing, and many other useful things. All these came to you from China, either by the hands of the Arabs, or, later on, with the expeditions of Genghis Kahn or Batu Kahn, or through the Polos; for these inventions were not known to Europe in the Middle Ages, while they had long been used in our country.

When, at a later period, the western nations made their way to our ports, it was they who came to us and sought permission for their merchants and artisans to dwell among us, not we who desired to send colonists to you. The whole burden of the negotiations sought by European nations with the Imperial Court has been—permission to live in China. In these negotiations, Americans have ever been foremost. You sent Mr. Caleb Cushing to us in 1844, Mr. Reed in 1858, and Mr. Burlingame in 1867. When the last-named gentleman resigned from your diplomatic service to enter ours, and effected the treaty that goes by his name, he was rewarded by you for his part in the transaction with the highest encomiums and the warmest welcome.

Let me read you two or three clauses from this treaty.

Article VI. guarantees every privilege and complete protection to Americans in China, and this is carried so far that Article I. forbids the employment of the foreign establishments on the coast of China—for example, the Portuguese establishment at Macao, the British island of Hongkong, etc.—as a means of aggression against the United States, in case of a war between that country and Portugal, or Great Britain, etc.

Article IV. grants entire freedom of religion, protection of sepulture, etc. And Article VII. the right to establish their own schools, etc. to Americans in China.

Article VI. confers equal rights upon Chinamen in the United States.

Under these articles a numerous body of your citizens hove established themselves in China, possessed them elves of the coasting trade, and many other branches of navigation and traffic, and thus deprived thousands of Chinamen of employment. The complaints of these poor people are not conveyed to you; because our government has too much respect for its treaty obligations to permit you to be annoyed with any expression of regret concerning the working of its compacts with you. On the other hand, while the profits of which the Chinese coast and river junk trade have been deprived, by American steamers, go to swell the dividends of your navigation companies and afford employment to your maritime classes, your shipbuilders, and your machinists, your newspapers are filled and your halls of legislation resound, with outcries against Chinese labor in America.

Thus it appears that the United States maintains precisely the same position in respect to China as the other European nations do. You all desire to possess advantages in China, which, at the same time, you would deny to Chinamen in America. You have bombarded our ports and forced us into an unwilling commerce with you, which now you desire shall be entirely one-sided. Your reason for this unfairness is not a sordid one. You are clear-headed enough to perceive that the benefit to commercial intercourse cannot be unilateral. But you fancy that the advantages of social intercourse may be monopolized by one party. You will not permit us to shut ourselves up. You demand every privilege for Americans in China, but you would deny the same privileges to Chinamen in America, because, in your opinion, the presence of the Chinese amongst you is a menace to your civilization. You shrink from contact with us, not because you regard us as mentally or bodily inferior, for neither fact nor argument will support you here—but rather because our religious code appears to be different from yours, and because we are deemed to be more abstemious in food, clothing and shelter.

If our religious forms, our daily bill of fare, and our demands for wages were the same as yours, it would be difficult to see what grievances, either real or fanciful, you would have to complain about. Since you profess in your political constitution, your pulpit declamations, and, more than all, in your manner of living, that you are not bigoted, and care nothing for religious forms, the menace to your civilization appears to resolve itself into a fear of losing your accustomed roast beef, white shirt-collars, and carpeted houses. It is a menace to the sensual indulgences to which you have been accustomed for the last three centuries—that is to say, since the opening of sea trade to the Orient.

There is a significance in this coincidence, to which, in another place I shall have occasion to allude more fully. Meanwhile, let us agree upon the grounds of your hostility to the Chinese in California. I say it is chiefly the fear of having to descend (as you would regard it) to your notion of the Chinese level of subsistence—rice, one suit of clothes, and bare walls. This is the substance of your 1300-page report of the Joint Special Committee to investigate Chinese Emigration. If it is anything else, I shall be glad to shift the issue with you.

Treating this as the essence of the Chinese question, let us see what there is in it. Substantially, Asia desires seclusion from the European world; substantially, Europe desires commerce with Asia. In India this commerce is carried on by force. In China and Japan, because you cannot employ force, you desire to so arrange it that, while the commercial benefits may be mutual, the social advantages, as you regard them, may all be on your side. You insist upon trade with China, but you want no contact with her people, for fear of their pagan influence and their economical mode of living. Can you be gratified in both respects? Impossible.

The same God that made you, made us; the same inexorable laws of nature that govern you, govern us. Foremost among these laws is that of gravitation. When a substance falls to the earth, the earth rises at the same time to the substance. All action and reaction are reciprocal. This law holds good throughout the physical world; it also holds good throughout the moral and political world. Nature forbids one-sided arrangements. If you must trade with China, you must come in contact with Chinamen, and be subjected to the influence of Chinese morality and Chinese civilization. The influence may be small, may be remote, may be inappreciable — as is the rise of the earth toward falling substances — but it must take place, and neither you nor we can help it. You may drive us out of California, but we shall influence your social affairs all the same. The goods that we now manufacture in San Francisco will be fabricated in Canton; and, no matter how high you may raise

your tariff, you will walk in Canton shoes, wear Canton shirts, smoke Canton cigars, and shoot each other with Canton revolvers and gunpowder; for we can make all of them cheaper than you can.

If you have debauched us with opium, we have got even with you by acquiring your mechanical arts; and henceforth, unless Europe and Asia shall fall back upon a now impossible scheme of strict non-intercourse, their fortunes must go together. If, as you believe, your civilization is superior to ours, it will have to fall a little in order that ours may rise a great deal; and this must take place whether the few Chinese now in California shall remain or not. It is God's law, and can not be averted. It is the means by which he has and will continue to slowly knit together the diverse threads of all human life.

In my next and final letter I propose to show how mistaken you are in regarding your civilization as, on the whole, superior to ours; and, on the contrary, how much your civilization owes to ours, and how rapidly it would decay without the support which our civilization affords it, even at the present time. After this I will endeavor to draw a picture of what California would be were the Chinese driven from it, and to justify this delineation will refer to the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the Chinese from Manila. And when I shall have done this, I will rest my case.

Let me in this place, however, endeavor to correct one great misapprehension in respect to the Chinaman. You are continually objecting to his morality. Your travelers say he is depraved; your missioners call him ungodly; your commissioners call him uncleanly; and your *sans culottes* call him everything that is vile. Yet your housewives permit him to wait upon them at table; they admit him to their bed-chambers; they confide to him their garments and jewels; and even trust their lives to him, by awarding him supreme control over their kitchens and the preparation of their food. There is a glaring contradiction here.

The plain truth is, that what you have regarded as evidences of immorality and depravity are simply evidences of indigence and misery. China is in a feudal condition. Her nobles are enormously rich and powerful; her peasants are extremely poor and wretched. The unpleasant things which your travelers and missionaries have observed in China, are not common to Chinamen. They have never been observed in connection with rich Chinamen. They are peculiar only to poverty. They belong to the miserable—to the miserable of all countries. What Mr. Griffis, in his recent chapter on the "Heart of Japan," says of that country, is true also of China: the peasantry are very poor. The nakedness of the towns, of the houses, of the people, their scant fare, their degradation—which were only to be fully perceived when he reached the interior of the country—made him exclaim, with disappointment: "I began to realize the utter poverty and wretchedness of the people and the country of Japan" (p. 415). Yet everywhere he found some education and abundance of good nature (p. 420).

It is the same in China. The nobles are the richest in the world; the peasants are the poorest. What little of the latter's habits and surroundings has proved repulsive to Occidental eyes, is the result, not of inferior morality, but of inferior wealth. The European peasant was in the same condition three centuries ago, and in some countries —for example, Russia, Eastern Germany, Roumania, Ireland, and parts of Italy and Portugal—he is very nearly in a similar condition to-day. Yet you not only tolerate him in America, you share with him your political privileges; you admit him to social communion; he is your brother; while the poor Chinaman you would drive away with blows and contumely. What if it should appear that, after all, there was nothing defensible beneath your hatred of Chinamen but ignorance and religious bigotry? Where would then stand the bases of your vaunted civilization?

The slender fare of rice and the other economical habits of the peasant class, which are so objectionable to your lower orders and the demagogues who trumpet their clamors, are not the result of choice to Chinamen; they follow poverty. The hard-working, patient, servants that you have about you to-day, love good fare as well as other men, but they are engaged in a work far higher than the gratification of self-indulgence; they are working to liberate their parents in China from the thraldom of feudal villeinage, and so long as their labor continues to strike off the fetters from their beloved ones will they continue to practice their noble self-abnegation. When this emancipation is complete, you will find the Chinaman as prone as any human creature to fill his belly and cover his back with good things.

KWANG CHANG LING.

LETTER III.

PALACE HOTEL, August 2, 1878.

TO THE ARGONAUT:—The limits to which these letters restrict me are a great source of embarrassment. I am forced to outline the story of twenty centuries of intercourse, three of which have been active and bear immediately on the present question, in the

course of a few columns. I must compare Christianity with Buddhism, an allodial civilization with a feudal one, and strike a balance between two worlds with the dash of a pen. It is not a cause that I am to defend; it is a miracle that I must accomplish.

Let me begin this letter with the religious question. Is it the religion of the Chinese residents in America of which you complain? What right have you to do this, with freedom of religion guaranteed in your Federal and State constitutions and a hundred monstrous sects flourishing in your midst and protected by your laws? There are more Shakers than Buddhists, more Mormons than Confucians, in your country; and, while the latter keep their religion to themselves, the former flaunt theirs, with all its repulsive features, in the face of your moral code, which it flatly insults. Do you complain of Chinese morality? In what respect is your code superior to ours? What duty does it commend which ours disregards? What virtue does it inculcate which ours neglects? Or do you complain of the practical behavior of Chinamen, regardless of religion or moral code? Let their industry, their peaceful manners, their resignation to insult and contumely, be your answer.

You say that your civilization is superior to ours, and that it must not be degraded by contact with us. When your twenty discordant writers, Volney, Burke, Guizot, Mackinnon, Colquhon, Buckle, Spencer, Draper, and the rest agree upon what civilization means, we shall be better able to reply to you. With us, civilization indicates a given condition of society, combined with the direction and velocity of its movement from that condition to another. The condition we regard as due to physical resources; the movement and its velocity to the struggle between those resources and the population which has to subsist upon them. At times, population gets the upper hand of nature; then civilization advances. At others, nature gets the better of population; then civilization decays. We are an old nation and have seen many of these changes; but we have neither forgotton justice nor charity to others when they favored, nor begged indulgence from others when they went against us. When, in the days of Genghis Khan, our name was a terror to Western Europe, we took no advantage of you and imposed upon you no yoke. Now that we are engaged in so desperate a struggle against nature that, during the past few years, millions of human beings have expired from starvation within our borders, we ask no favors from you. Whatever you may think of our civilization, violence and force form no portions of its basis. Its foundations—however rudely capped—are laid in justice, and mercy, and toleration.

But what is this Western civilization of which you boast so loudly? Had it any history previous to the opening of the sea route to China? Pause a moment. Be just. Reflect. When you shall have caught the clue to such a history, let us be apprized. But we believe you will fail. You will remember that we happen to know something of Europe in the thirteenth century, and to-day our histories can tell more of this obscure period than yours. We have our own theory concerning the sources of your present greatness. We ascribe it, in part, to your gains from the piratical conquest, enslavement, and murderous extinction of the American races, but chiefly to the profitable trade with the Orient. From the opening of this trade to 1640, when the Portuguese were driven from Japan, and the British first acquired territory in Hindostan, three of your nations alone took a thousand millions of specie from Asia; two thirds as much as they wrung from all America during the same period. From Malacca, alone, they took twenty-five millions; from Japan, up to the date mentioned, four hundred millions; from India and China other vast sums. These nations were Spain, Portugal and Holland. You imported calicoes from India, rice and silk from China, copper from Japan, spices from the Islands; and you sent, in return, woolens, iron-wares, and other northern fabrics. Every western nation had its East India or Oriental company, whose profits on each voyage varied from forty to three hundred per cent. When you could not trade, you robbed; and your pirates, whose atrocities your monarchs not only connived at but rewarded, despoiled our seas and ravaged our coasts. These profits and spoils gave rise to those industries which furnish the present support to your boasted civilization; they invoked those industrial classes, which before them had no existence in Europe, and whose emergence from feudal vassalage forms the history of your liberties. In a word, your civilization is indebted to ours for all there is of it to which you dare to refer; and it still depends so largely upon the Oriental trade, which amounts in value to $1,000,000,000 per annum, and employs ten million tons of western shipping—more than one-half of which is with China alone—that if this trade were destroyed, through your illiberality to Chinamen, there can be little risk in predicting that your civilization would sustain the severest blow to which, practically, it is liable to be subjected. During the palmy days of the Oriental trade your physical resources exceeded the wants of your population; you grew, took to the consumption of luxuries, and have now become proud, insolent and unjust. At the present time, although the Oriental trade is greater than ever, competition has reduced its profits to a minimum; your population, in Europe and America, grown from forty millions to four hundred millions, is fast outstripping your productive resources, and you can not afford to dispense with any of them that you possess—least of all, with so important a one as the Chinese trade. Abandon that, and your fate as a progressive civilization is sealed; and, as things which do not grow, decay, so will the day dawn when, not the Zealander, but the Chinaman,

will arise to muse over your ruined cities, and recall the ingratitude and folly that precipitated your fall.

Driven from your place in the ranks of a civilization whose greatness you now perpetually boast, you may meanly seek as Americans to escape the fate that threatens to overtake you as Europeans. You may cry let European civilization decay if it will: our concern is with the United States; *sauve qui peut!* In vain; you must fall, as you have risen, with the rest. If, meaner still, you entrench yourselves on the narrow strip of land between the Sierra and the ocean and resolve, as Californians, to pursue a policy which you fear to avow as Americans, let me show you what will happen. And here I appeal not to philosophy, but to history, which seems better fitted to the scope of western minds.

In 1505 the Spaniards in Mexico—the same men who discovered and colonized California—sent a fleet to the Phillippine Islands, which they captured and occupied. Under assurances of protection from these marauders a considerable number of Chinamen were induced to reside upon the islands, which under the effects of their industry and enterprise, became as rich and productive as before they had been poor and barren. In 1602 there were upward of twenty thousand Chinese in Manila, whilst the number of Spaniards did not exceed eight hundred. There never had been the slightest disturbance between them. The Chinese were hard workers, who meddled with nobody. The Spaniards rode about on horseback, enjoying the fruits of the Chinamen's labor and living like lords; and yet they were not satisfied. They wanted to rob the Chinamen of the little they had managed to save under the hard conditions of their life. The Spaniards met together in secret, planned a massacre of the Chinese, and carried out this atrocious design with such expedition that, in the course of a few months, but few of the twenty thousand victims were left alive. The marauders then divided the spoils they had gained, and rejoiced in the name of civilization and religion. Thirty-seven years later, a new generation of Chinamen having arisen, who were ignorant or careless of what had occurred before, some thirty-three thousand of my countrymen gradually found their way to Manila. Precisely the same thing happened as before. The Spaniards, conveting the wretched gains of the Chinese, planned their massacre, and slaughtered twenty-two thousand of them in four months, with a loss on their own side of but three hundred and thirty (Martin's History of China, I, 378). From that moment the Phillippines decayed and sunk to nothing. In 1762, when Sir William Draper captured Manila from Spain, his most numerous and eager allies were the Chinese. It was a punishment and retribution to the Spaniards.

Did the Phillippines decay because the Chinese had been driven from them? Yes. But let us glance at the story of the Moorish expulsion from Spain before we dig down to those reasons which so nearly concern the present welfare of California and the Pacific slope of America.

At the time Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada, Spain had a population of 21,000,000; Castile had 11,000,000; Aragon, 7,000,000; Granada, 3,000,000. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Castile and Aragon, and all of those in Granada, were Moors and Jews. The former were the agriculturists of the peninsular; the later the manufacturers and merchants. The conquest had been aided by fanaticism, and the impersonators of this element claimed for their reward the expulsion of the Moors and Jews. No sooner said than done. The fiat went forth, and in the same year that America was discovered by Colombus the kingdom of Spain was closed to the heretics. A million of them were driven forth. Some professed Christianity and remained until 1610, when they, too, were cast out. Others of the proscribed fled to freer lands, so that in 1594 the entire population left in Spain was but 8,206,791. The kingdom was a wreck, and despite the magnificent conquest of America, despite the gold and silver wrung from the Indians and the monopoly of the Colonial trade, which was maintained until the period of the Mexican and South American revolutions, it never recovered the loss thus sustained. It is only within the past twenty-five years that Spain has been again enabled to hold up her head among the nations of the world; only since the time when she has decreed religious toleration and blotted out from her history the bloody and detestable crime which she committed three centuries ago. The cry raised against the Moors in Spain and the Chinese in Manila was the same: paganism, filth, leprosy, a lower civilization. It was false in both cases, as it is in the present case of California. The real offense was that the hated races were more abstemious and economical than the race in power, and much as you may endeavor to conceal it from the world and from yourselves, this is the offense of the Chinamen in California. Are not your *sans culottes* destroying your harvesters and other labor-saving machinery? Do they not murder those of their own number who are satisfied to accept lower wages than the leaders choose to demand?

I believe that I have said enough to show why the Chinese should not go. It is only necessary to advert to the enormous interest which they have built up in this country to make it clear that they can not go; and I may add that if it becomes necessary for them to appeal to all Christendom, and even to arms; against your injustice, they are prepared to do so. They did not seek Western intercourse; they did not ask for the Burlingame treaty; but now that both have been thrust upon them they are determined

that both shall be respected. They will not be driven forth. It must sound strangely to hear a Chinaman speak of resorting to arms to obtain the observance of a treaty. It is strange; but it is your method, the method of your boasted Western civilization; you have taught it to us, and we shall employ it. It may, also, seem preposterous on our part to speak of arms, when you believe that we have none. But here you are mistaken.

During your civil war, a single Confederate cruiser, whose operations in Chinese waters were zealously aided by the British Consuls, and alarmingly magnified by the reports of the British merchants in our ports, entirely swept your commerce from the Pacific Ocean. This fact taught us two things, First, the English are your rivals in trade and would gladly ruin you; second, they are ready to sell war-ships, arms and ammunition to your enemies. At the present time they have a number of fine ironclads, which, being our friends, they will be glad to sell to us, and, if needs be, show us how to handle. The day that you become so weak and faithless as to give way to your iguorant classes, and permit the torch and dagger to drive us from your shores, that day will see every resource of Ta-sing empire put forth to punish you. Your commerce will be swept from the Pacific, perhaps forever; it may even be seriously crippled on the Atlantic; and you may then learn, when too late, that China, though old and apathetic, is by no means dead or powerless.

But pardon these threats. They are merel/ the ebullition of an injured patriotism, an outraged sense of justice. We would be your friends, not your enemies. The oldest and newest empires of the world, joined together in the common cause of Free Trade, would furnish a spectacle whose sublimity might form the Pharos to a new and higher civilization for a united world. Disunited, warring with each other, and in war seeking for allies, with little regard to the incongruity of the alliance, they would not only afford an unseemly spectacle, but they might involve each other in ruin and the world in a desolation so wide spread that its rehabilitation may need the work of centuries. I have said it, the Chinese should not, can not, will not go. I will now show you that if they did, it would be so much worse for you—aye, eveu for the very classes who are clamorous for their removal. What are they doing here? In a word, they are pursuing a number of industries which, without them, would have no existence at all on this coast. All the evidence in your Chinese Immigration Report goes to prove that this is a correct description of the class of vocations in which they are employed. The City Assessor, who with binocular vision, finds 28,500 Chinese in this city, gives their occupations as follows, the classification being my own:

(1) As domestics and washermen	7,200
(2) As makers of clothing, shoes and slippers	6,250
(3) As makers of cigars and cigar-boxes	3,150
(4) As fishermen, truck-farmers and hucksters	3,700
(5) As Chinese merchants, brokers, clerks, and porters, Chiuese restaurants, places of worship, and other purely Chinese occupations	4,150
(6) As rag-pickers	600
(7) In American manufactories: fruit-canning, woolen mills, tauneries, matches, gun-powder mills, and brick-yards	3,450
Total	28,500

In the other towns of the State the Chinese are employed in similar vocations. In the rural sections they pick nineteen-twentieths of the grape crop (Rep., p. 1203). In the miuing districts they work the placers which white men have long since abandoned. It is quite safe to say that if they were driven from those industries not one of them would be continued. Let us look at them seriatim: (1) Families who would have to pay $25 to $40 a month, Biddy's demand for housework, instead of the $10 or $15 with which John is satisfied, would break up housekeeping, become their own domestics, or else leave the country. The times are past when exceptionally high rates of wages cau be sustained. (2) The clothing, shoes and slippers uow made here by Chinamen would either be made in Chiua, of British muslin, leather, etc., or else manufactured in the East, and iu either case imported to this coast. It is entirely out of the questiou to imagine that these industries would be coutinued upou the Californiau workingmen's wage-basis of $3 or $4 a day. The geueral level of wages aud prices and living has fallen far below such rates, and neither intimidation nor violeuce cau raise it. The workingmen themselves would have to leave the State, because the capitalists could no louger afford to live here. (3) No one pretends that cigars can be made upon your would-be basis of wages. Already most of the cigars consumed here, apart from those made by Chinamen, are imported from New York. As for the yarns about leprous Chinese cigar-makers, the fiuest cigar in the world, those of Havana, are all, without exception, made by Chinamen; aud this has been the case for upward of twenty years. (4) Fish caught and vegetables grown by Chinamen are now sold in this market quite cheaply. Drive the Chinameu away, and neither of these articles of food would be seen at any tables but those of the rich. (5 and 6) It is presumed that no one but Chinamen are prepared to fill the places of these classes. (7) This is

really the only class of laborers who come into competition with the workingmen whom you admit to citizenship. They are ready to retire at any moment in favor of the latter, who are welcome to undertake the dangerous and offensive labors which the Chinese now perform in these manufactories.

The settlement of California is due to its placer mines. While these were prolific the country was prosperous, and high prices, high wages and high living was possible. To augment this prolificity you invited Chinamen here, and worked them for your own benefit. When the placers were exhausted some of you combined and turned your attention to quartz mines; others to wheat farming. The Chinese picked up a living by resorting to petty industries in which you could not compete with foreign or Eastern artisans, and which you, therefore, could not have started. Now that the Chinamen have built up these trades some of you would drive them away, hoping, no doubt, to fill their places, and perhaps fill them at higher wages. How mean! How stupid! The truth is that you can no more continue these industries after the Chinamen are driven away than you can work a hydraulic claim without piping, or a manufactory without steam. The Chinese are the labor-saving machines that render these industries possible. Banish them and the industries will perish. Then will your coast be deserted and your workingmen themselves forced to flee from it. They can not live upon quartz mines and seemed to be averse to wheat farming. When they shall have raised the price of living to what it was of yore, and shall find themselves, as they will, without the placer mines which sustained it, they must either leave or starve. May heaven guide them in their darkness. They have much need of light when they regard the poor Chinamen as being in their way; the truth being that without his aid in providing them with cheap food, clothing, services, etc., they would not be able to live here at all.

The same logic that would banish the Chinese will destroy every labor-saving machine in the land. This would involve not merely the harvesting and sewing machines, but also the spade and the axe. The former in the hands of a skilled husbandman will perform as much labor as could be done by a dozen men with fingers and toes; the latter as much as could be effected by a hundred men with their unaided teeth. These labor-saving implements, therefore, displace so many honest workingmen, who may starve for lack of work. Moreover, the spade and axe are non-consumers. They neither eat, drink, nor wear clothes as Christians do. The spade has no religion; the axe no morals. The spade is a filthly instrument grovling among worms and putrid bodies; the axe has committed many a bloody crime. The spade cannot agitate; nor the axe vote. They are not allowed to perform the duties of a citizen, and are, therefore, unworthy of its privileges; one of those being that of remaining in the country. Many spades and axes come from Sheffield, and nearly all others are made of British steel. They are, therefore, aliens, whose presence here, and whose strange attributes form a standing threat to American institutions. Your laws or customs do not permit them to mingle with your people. No man may marry a spade; no woman an axe. The very aspect of these alien labor-saving machines is repulsive to you. The spade does not wear a queue longer than George Washington's, nor the axe excel General Grant in the smoking of narcotics; but they both go stark naked, without a strip of clothing on them; and what sight can be more offensive to civilized eyes? Then down with these labor-saving implements. Let the cry of every good American be: The Spades and Axes Must Go!

But this machine-smashing logic is not peculiar to California. The industrial world of Christendom resounds with it. The same class of men who burned the woolen frames at Lancashire are now breaking the reaper and mowers of New York, the harvesters of Kansas, and the gang-plow of the San Joaquin valley. When Commodore Perry visited Japan he carried ashore a miniature railway, a telegraph, a harvester, and numerous labor-saving implements. "Your civilization is degraded; ours is elevated," cried this worthy commander to the wondering Asiatics. "Behold the proof. Your plows and carriages (*Jin-riki-sha*) are drawn by men; ours by steam. Your messages are carried by runners; ours by lightning. You are the slaves of toil; we are the masters. You were very anxious to sell these civilizing machines to the Japanese in order, as you said, to lift them up to your own proud level, and you have never failed to similarly press them upon us. Was this because you were mistaken with respect to the advantages of labor-saving machines, or because you anticipated having no further use for them at home.

But enough. The times are hard; there is much suffering among the poor in every land, and coming, as I do, from a country where suffering has most enthroned itself I am not disposed to push the argument beyond the self-defense. No one has a deeper stake in the welfare of your working classes than the Chinese; for unless they manage to sustain themselves, what must be the fate of our starving millions? All I ask is that your workingmen will cease to look upon the Chinese as the source of their troubles. It is not there, nor is it in the presence of any other labor-saving machines. Perhaps they will find it in she world's dwindling stock of metallic money—and in this respect one of the planks of their platform commends itself most heartily to my mind. Perhaps they will find it in the govermental extravagance, in trade monopolies, in the privileges accorded to corporations, in the exemption of government bonds and other prop-

erty from taxation—I know not where. Your Congressional Committee, now in New York, is making the proper inquires. It is not our business to discover the causes of your misfortunes. It is enough if we show that they do not spring from our presence here, and that on the contrary, they would be infinitely aggravated were you unfortunately to forget what is due to honor, to justice, and to your own interets, and attempt to drive us away from your shores. KWANG CHANG LING.

THE DECAY OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

Another Letter from Kwang Chang Ling.

TO THE ARGONAUT:—Do not be alarmed. It is not proposed to bore you with any further arguments concerning the Chinese question in California. Should it ever assume the form of discussion I shall be happy, if permitted, to take part in it; but such is not yet the fact; and I am too well aware of the inveteracy and rancor of race prejudice to expect to convince my opponents so long as they refuse to join issue with me, and are satisfied merely to reiterate that demand for the expulsion of the Chinese which it has been my endeavor to show was both unjust and unwise.

There are, however, some topics connected with China which, although they relate remotely to to the Chinese question, must possess a higher interest for you in other respects; and this interest must remain, whether the Chinese question is settled by our expulsion or not. They relate to the general question of civilization; to the world's civilization; to Asiatic, to European civilization; and—which is more to you—to these civilizations considered apart. One of these topics is the population of the Chinese empire; and with your honorable permission, I will lay before you certain facts and inferences in this connection which I have reason to believe will possess some interest to you, quite separate from the question concerning the Chinese in California.

There are few events in history more remarkable than the settlement of the recent war in Turkey. A power commanding nearly 90,000,000 of subjects overruns, in the course of a few months, the territory of another power, commanding less than 25,000,000 and is upon the point of entirely destroying the latter, when a third power, summoning to its aid a force of Indian allies, puts a stop to the conquest, and, with little change, restores the enraged belligerents to their previous positions and relations. The novel means employed to bring about this extraordinary and unlooked for result did not fail to elicit the indignation of the baffled conqueror. Count Schouvaloff significantly warned Europe that arms of precision in the hands of Asiatics convey a menace to all European civilization. But these are not all of the means employed. The other were the brains of a British Premier, who is himself of Asiatic blood, and deeply imbued with the characteristics of Asiatic civilization—strong passions, a powerful imagination, and disregard for the conversation of national religions.

Lord Beaconsfield belongs to a race who, up to within a very recent period, were hated and despised in Europe as much as the Chinese are to-day in America. They could not own land; they could not even drive a horse; they enjoyed no civil privileges; their residences were confined to noisome *ghettos*; they were restricted to the most disreputable and repulsive vocations; they were compelled to wear peculiar dresses, and forbidden even to assume surnames. There is not a country in Europe which has not repeatedly plundered, massacred, and driven them forth. There are but two to-day—England and France—where they do not have to struggle against civil disabilties; and it is only a few years since these were removed in England. Precisely the same charges that are to-day made against the Chinese were but quite recently urged against the Jews. They were an alien race, unfit to mix with Christians, whose civilization was menaced by their presence. They were filthy and leprous; they poisoned wells; they ate Christian babies; they were incorrigible cheats, and void of conscience; they lived upon refuse, and underbid the labor of honest men. They were hated by man and accursed of God.

That the entire power of the British Empire, embracing, as it does, some two hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants and greater wealth and resources than all the world besides, should have been recently intrusted, without hesitation, to the disposition of one of this race, would appear to contain a still more serious menace to the conservation of European civilization than the event noticed by Count Schouvaloff. But every thinking man knows that it does not. Why? Simply because the Jews are a de-

caying people. There are not half as many Jews in all the world to-day as there were two thousand years ago in Palestine alone. Has persecution killed them? Not at all. Under persecution they have invariably thriven and increased. What, then, has diminished their numbers, and must soon extinguish them altogether? Absorption. Merely absorption. The great sponge of European civilization, which first opened its pores during the French Revolution, has absorbed and nearly extinguished them. Lord Beaconsfield is himself an example of the process. He is a member of the Church of England. And myriads of similarly absorbed Jews surronnd you upon all sides. They not only abjure their distinguishing religion and customs; they change their names; and in the course of two or three generations there is nothing left of their original characteristics, but a trace of their highly-organized blood and ancient refinement. So, too, have the Chinese been a decaying race for more than a century past. My government does not admit this; my confreres vehemently deny it; but many years spent in the Western world during my youth, and some familiarity with Chinese affairs, combined with a knowledge of Western histories and books of travel, enable me, as I believe, to perceive what my government would conceal and my companions are loth to admit. It belongs to history, to science, and to civilization, to reveal the truth in this matter. The truth can do no harm to any one; certainly not to my countrymen. Under the policy of concealment in this respect they have suffered all that men can endure. Let the truth now be tried. It is the inheritence of all mankind; it is the bequest of Heaven.

According to the various official enumerations which I have been able to find mentioned in European authors, the population of China proper at various periods of history was as follows:

POPULATION OF CHINA PROPER AT VARIOUS PERIODS, AS ASCERTAINED BY OFFICIAL ENUMERATION (CENSUS).

Christian Year.	*Emperor.*	*Number of Families.*	*Total Population,*	*European Authority.*
B. C. 1001 to 248..	Chow dynasty	* 13,704,920	65,000,000	Martin's Hist. Ch., I, 217
B. C. 202 to A. D. 255	Han dynasty		83,000,000	Martin, I, 217
1st cent'y A. D....	Han dynasty	12,233,062	59,594,978	Malte-Brun, II, 94
A. D. 740	Tip-tsung	8,412,800	48,143,600	Malte-Brun, II, 94
A. D. 997	Chin-tsung	* 9.995,729	50,000,000	Martin, I, 225
A. D. 1393	Hungwu	16,052,860	60,545,812	Malte-Brun
A. D. 1491	Hiao-tsung	9,113,446	53,281,158	Malte-Brun
A. D. 1506	Ching-te		50,000,000	Martin, I, 229
A. D. 1578	Wan-te	10,621,436	60,692,856	Malte-Brun
A. D. 1662	Kang-he	† 21,068,600	105,000,000	Martin, I, 29
A. D. 1668	Kang-he	† 25,386,209	125,000,000	Martin, I, 29
A. D. 1710	Kang-he	† 23,312,200	115,000,000	Martin, I, 29
A. D. 1711	Kang-he	† 28,605,716	140,000,000	Martin, I, 29
A. D. 1743	Keen-lung		198,213,713	Allerstein, in Malte-Brun
A. D. 1760	Keen-lung		196,837,977	Allerstein, in Appleton ‡
A. D. 1761	Keen-lung		198,214,624	Allerstein, in Appleton
A. D. 1830	Taouk-wang		142.652,000	Macgreggor Com. St., V, 7
A. D. 1834	Taouk-wang		125,000,000	Estimated as in text
A. D. 1878	Tsai-tien		§ 100,000,000	From previeus numbers

* Number of *men* between fifteen and sixty years of age.
† Given by Martin as the whole population, but evidently meaning *families.*
‡ Am. Cyc., Old Ed., 1377.
§ From one hundred to one hundred and twenty millions.

From this table it will be seen that the population of China reached its greatest numbers more than a century ago, and that at the present time it amounts to little more than one-half as many as it did then. As these results will probably be questioned, I will now proceed as briefly as possible to substantiate them.

It will be observed that I have adduced no enumerations which have not been mentioned in European authors. This course has been observed because of the non-acquaintance of Europeans with our native authors and language. The enumerations previous to the reign of Kang-he (1662-1722) are not important in this connection. They, however, serve to show that our population has retrogressed more than once before, and to some extent indicate the limits within which the numbers may be found at various periods. Kank-he was one of the greatest princes who ever sat upon the throne of China. He was an indefatigable student, a thorough mathematician, and by far the best scholar in the empire. He visited the provinces in person, caused them to be surveyed by Europeans, and ordered the geographical positions of all important places to be ascertained. The enumerations made during his reign were subjected to the inspection of Europeans—Messrs. Gerbillon, Bouvet and others. Kang-he reigned sixty years, during which time the population increased from 105,000,000 to about 150,000,000. "His whole life was an arduous struggle to benefit his subjects." (Martin, I, 233.)

Very different was the character of Keen-lung (1736-1796). This prince also reigned sixty years; but they were sixty years of foreign and domestic wars, turbulence, imperial rapacity, social decadence, and polit cal retrogression. Between 1765 and 1769 nearly 1,000,000 of men were lost in the war with Burmah. Civil wars occurred in nearly all parts of the empire; the crops failed repeatedly, and vast numbers died from famine. From nearly 200,000,000—at which number the population stood when Keen-lung was called to the throne—it fell to little more than 150,000,000 at the time of his death in 1796. Yet but one year previous to this event he permitted Chu-ta-jin of the imperial foreign office to communicate to the British Ambassador, Lord Macartney, a statement to the effect that the population of the empire amounted to 333,000,000 souls! It is out of this false statement that have sprung all the erroneous statements which appear in your books of reference concerning the population of China.

Some of these works pretend to quote from a census of 1812; others from a census of 1842; the truth being that no censuses were ever taken, and that all these pretended enumerations are conjectures based upon the falsehood conveyed to Lord Macartney in 1795, and the equally false assumption that the population has gone on increasing ever since. There is no country in the world where better opportunities exist for taking a census than in China. Every district has its officer; every street its constable; every ten houses its tything man; and every family is required to have a board always hanging up in the house ready for the inspection of the regular officer, on which board the name of every man, woman, or child, in the house must be inscribed. Yet no actual census of China has been published since that of 1761. Decaying countries are never known to publish censuses; it is the act only of growing ones.

However, the best evidence of the population of China is afforded by the extent of its cultivated lands. The productive capacity of these lands, and the usual quantity of food necessary to support human life, being known, the number of those who dwell upon them can be deduced within a very reasonable degree of certainty. From these data it will be found that the population at the date of the last cadastre, *viz.*: about the year 1834, did not exceed 125,000,000.

China proper consists of eighteen states, or provinces, containing a total area of 1,297,999 square miles, or 830,719,360 acres. Of this area, it has been stated that the extraordinary proportion of three-fourths, or 640,579,381 acres are *cultivable* (*a*). The mountainous and desert character of a very large portion of the empire is a sufficient refutation of the statement; but be this as it may, the *cultivated* portion has never been held by any author to exceed 141,119,347 acres (*b*). This figure, however, appears to relate to the last century, the latest figure of the area actually cultivated being 108,907,338½ acres (*c*). This result is obtained from our official cadastral works, is given by provinces, contains internal proofs of correctness in the character of its details, and is supported by the collateral evidence afforded by the land tax.

The principal, though not the only, grain of China is rice. This grain forms the staff of life chiefly in the southern and eastern provinces; whilst in the northern and western, barley, wheat, buckwheat, maize and millet constitute the dietary of the people. Meat is scarce, but fish affords an important article of food, and is said to supply a tenth of all consumed.

In the fertile districts of the southern provinces two crops of rice are raised every year from the same land, and, in some very exceptionable spots, as many as three crops have been obtained. Two annual crops in the south and one in the north is, however, the rule. Sometimes the secondary crop is not rice, but vegetables and even cotton. But there is little gained by this system, and it has been decried by modern agriculturists. It exhausts the land too rapidly and renders the succeeding crops feeble. This system, and the fact that the land has been used from time immemorial for the same kind of crop, has reduced the harvest returns of the Chinese Empire to a condition that cannot surprise the cultivator of overcropped lands in your Eastern and Middle States, but may seem small to those of fresh and exuberant California. Even with two crops a year from the same land in a considerable portion of China, an acre of land in that country will on an average of good years produce only 14.04 bushels of paddy. or 9.36 bushels of clean rice(*d*). Were the entire cultivated area of China sown in rice, and every crop a fair average one, the entire annual harvest of the Empire would amount to but 1,010,880,000 bushels. As a considerable area is planted in tea and other crops, the grain harvest does not probably exceed 900,000,000 bushels.

This estimate is supported by others. De Guignes stated the grain tribute for the year 1777 at 28,000,000 taels on the first crop, and 22,000,000 on the second. Together these sums are equal to $81,250,000. Regarding the tribute as one-tenth of the whole crop, and reckoning the value of the rice as low as 1½ cents per pound, this would make the crop equal to 1,083,000,000 bushels.

Wells William gives the grain tax for a recent year at 95,700,000 bushels. Regarding this as a tithe of the whole, we have for the entire crop 957,000,000 bushels. In round

(*a*) Wells Williams' *Middle Kingdom* I, 218. Macgregor. V. II, 12, says that one-third of the land is cultivated; but this, though nearer the mark, is mere conjecture.
(*b.*) Martin's *History of China*. Table prefacing Vol 1.
(*c.*) Gutzlaff's *China*.
(*d.*) Chinese Repository, XIII, 26. In Java the average product of rice is 575 pounds, or 11½ bushels to the acre. *Ibid.*, III, 234.

figures let us say it amounts to 1,000,000,000 bushels. It remains to ascertain how many people this will support.

The average consumption of rice in China by men employed in agricultural labor is three shing per day, or 15.77 bushels per year; in the cities it is one shing, or 5.26 bushels per year, fish and other comestibles eking out the remainder of the fare. As the principal portion of the population is agricultural it is fully within the mark to estimate the average annual consumption of grain throughout the empire at ten bushels per head, supplemented by some fish and vegetables and a very little meat. With a crop of 1,000,000,000 bushels, this bespeaks a population of not over 100,000,000. Making due allowance for possible errors of calculation and for the numbers of people supported from the profits of foreign commerce in tea, silks, metals and manufactures of various kinds, it appears liberal to estimate the population of China at the period to which Gutzlaff's cadastral figures belong—namely, some forty odd years ago—at 125,000,000. At the present time they can hardly amount to 120,000,000, and may not exceed 100,000,000.

But while from these evidences China appears to have declined in population during the past hundred years or more, there are not wanting evidences that she is upon the point of becoming, if indeed she had not already become, a growing nation again. During the last fifteen or twenty years there has been a notable rise of wages in China; the condition of the poor has materially improved and the incentives to emigration are being fast overcome by the superior anvantages of remaining at home. This change is attributable to the influence of a liberal imperial policy, foreign intercourse, the introduction of more rapid and certain means of transport and communication, of certain Western arts, and of improved methods and implements of husbandry—the latter forming the merest beginnings of a new era, but nevertheless counting for something.

China is by no means dead, but only sleeps. So far is she from threatening to let loose upon the Western world a pauper population of four hundred and odd millions of people, she does not possess over a hundred millions of people. To these have lately been afforded such powerful means of future prosperity, that, instead of being obliged to permit her sons to wander upon distant and inhospitable shores in search of a scanty living, she may be able at no distant time to offer homes, within her own domains, to foreigners.

KWANG CHANG LING.

6

THE CHINESE

AND

THE CHINESE QUESTION

BY

JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL.D.

NEW YORK

THOMPSON & MOREAU, PRINTERS, 51 & 53 MAIDEN LANE

1880

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

PREFATORY NOTE.

This monograph comprises three lectures delivered by the author before the New York Academy of the Useful Arts on August 25th, September 29th and October 27th of the present year. Of these the first two (pages 1 to 62 hereof inclusive) have appeared in the National Quarterly Review for October ultimo. The third (pages 63 to 87 hereof inclusive) is added in the belief that an exposition of the legal principle involved in the remedy of existing evils, is hardly less necessary or desirable than is the consideration of their nature and tendencies.

In urging his convictions concerning the all-important topic of Chinese immigration, the author speaks from no immature judgment and expresses no hastily formed opinion. His attention was first called to the subject during a visit to the Pacific Coast ten years ago, and from that time to the present it has been to him a matter of no inconsiderable

investigation and reflection. It is perhaps needless to say that these pages would not have been presented to public notice, had he not carefully verified his statements and were he not fully convinced as to what deductions must inevitably be drawn from established facts.

140 Nassau St,
New York City, N. Y.,
November, 1880.

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ERRATA.

Page 8, line 11, for duplicate word "*furnaces*" read "evaporators."
Page 16, line 33, for "*twenty-two*" read "twenty-three."
Page 17, line 4, for "*two*" read "four."

THE CHINESE

AND

THE CHINESE QUESTION,

BY

JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL. D.

The Chinese problem is not merely a question of temporary disturbance to a single community. It is one of the migration of races; of the overflow of redundant populations upon comparatively unsettled regions. In its political, social, industrial and commercial bearings upon the future of our country it is of broader import than any other that has ever engaged the attention of the American people. Its proper consideration calls for the laborious examination of many facts, and for a careful investigation of their numerous and complex relations. And it requires that investigations be made, and that deductions be drawn, with the calmness of judicial impartiality. In this, as in every other matter of broad international concern, the narrow pathway of truth is that which leads to safety, and truth is gained only by taking facts without disguise and treating them without prejudice. My own studies have convinced me that Chinese immigration is full of danger to our country, to our institutions, and to our people. My reasons for this will be given in the course of this article, and it will be seen that they are based, not upon unreflecting hostility to any race, but upon proofs that we have opened to a colossal people the opportunity for limitless aggrandizement at our expense, and that we have done this with a recklessness that could only be equalled by one who, dwelling on lands below the level of the sea, should break

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down the dykes that hold the impending waves. And if it shall seem that I lay too much stress upon the historical development of China, her laws, her customs, and the character of her people, remember that in a subject so wide and so deep, we shall be most content with our conclusions if we deduce them, not from merely proximate data, but from those that are original and undeniable, even if remote.

For it is only through the study of the past of China that one may form a clear conception of the present character and tendencies of her people. And this conception, when gained, must constitute the basis of all accurate perception of her future relations with the outside world. A population comprising one third of the human race, of a mental, moral and physical type indigenous to the soil, unmodified by external influences and intensified by isolation and successive repetition through tens of centuries, must, in the nature of things, possess an inertia peculiarly its own. The future direction of this can only be foreseen from a knowledge of its line of movement in former times. The slow but progressive development of China has produced a civilization in which the low level of moral and physical life incident to debased and enslaved races is strangely combined with an intellectual vigor that, in all the requirements and vicissitudes of a complex social and political system, has proved itself equal to the promotion of learning and the extension of arts, and to the elaboration of methods and traditions of state-craft not inferior to those that have controlled the policy of European countries and of our own. To understand this, and the logical outcome thereof, is manifestly the first step to a proper appreciation of the conditions of the conflict, peaceful or otherwise, impending between the Turanian and the Aryan races. And such an understanding is best gained by the laborious but fruitful process of tracing the development of China through its salient causes and more noticeable results from the time when offshoots of unlettered tribes crept downward from the Altaic mountains to find homes on the marshy borders of the Hoang-Ho.

China is, for the most part, a fertile plain or basin, bounded

on the east by the Pacific, on all other sides by elevated and comparatively barren plateaus and ranges of lofty mountains. It is watered by two great rivers, the Yellow or Hoang-Ho, and the Blue or Yang-ste-Kiang, and their tributaries. It was upon the banks of these rivers that the Scythian progenitors of the present population formed their earliest settlements. The date is lost in the mists of legendary and mythical traditions, but it is known that nearly twenty-three centuries before the Christian era the Chinese possessed a written language; and as this was original and not derived from any external source, there must have been many ages before this stage of comparative progress was attained. The Yellow River is dyked along its length to prevent its floods from overwhelming the adjoining lands, and its bed is thirty feet above the level of the surrounding country—this elevation having been caused by the gradual deposition of earthy material from the heavily-laden waters. Assuming, although in the nature of things it can be only an assumption, that this deposit is in the same ratio as that laid upon the valley of Egypt by the inundations of the Nile—four inches in a century—it is easy to infer how long a period may have elapsed since the artificial banks were first raised by a sedentary people to protect their fields from injurious overflow. It is, however, sufficient to accept the usually acknowledged date of the beginning of letters as the period in which the character of the race began to harden into permanent form, and the institutions which illustrate if they have not caused its permanence, began to have the force of organic laws. This was but two hundred years later than the historical inception of Babylonian power as unfolded from the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. At that day the Shepherd Kings had not yet entered Egypt. It was nine hundred years before the appearance of the Hellenes in Thessaly; it was more than eleven centuries earlier than the siege of Troy. Since then, Babylon and Assyria and the later Egypt, the great empire of the Medes and Persians, the nations of Macedon and Rome and Byzantium have risen, and ruled, and passed away. Race has followed race and new languages have chased away the old in every land but one,

that between the Himalayas and the Yellow Sea. In that country there has been no change save by the normal development of native faculties and the progress of original tendencies acted upon by the unchanging agencies of soil and climate, and fixed by the utter absence of fusion or admixture with races of different mould.

If there had existed, from the beginning of time, no other people on the face of the earth, the character of the Chinese would scarcely have been different from what it is. They separated from the world in an infancy whose speech was in monosyllables, and which, as we shall see, had not yet learned the use of some of the crudest of the implements of human toil. They spread in scattered settlements that gradually broadened and touched and coalesced. They repelled the Tartar to the north; they drove the aborigines southward and westward from the irrigable lands. Slow, laborious and patient, obedient with a superstitious obedience to the elders whose age gave them experience and made them conservative, they invented for each difficulty only a remedy that met its sharpest detriment and rested content without thought or care for more. In arts, in letters, in customs, every advance from the very outset was self-evolved, sprang from some cause ingrained and inherent in the race itself and its conditions of existence; and each, in its time and place, instead of revolutionizing, intensified and perpetuated the character that gave it birth. It is not without utility that we may trace the development of this peculiar race and note the fixedness of the mental, moral and physical type, the fixedness of social and political institutions due to a strong but coarse racial individuality at the outset, and an environment that, supplying all physical needs, left that individuality to work out its tendencies without hindrance or modification.

Nothing affords more facile proof of the common origin of races, now remote from each other, than does the identity of terms applied to the necessaries of life, and the similarity of the rude implements by which the simple operations of industry are performed. The former has shown the primal unity of Sanscrit and Zend, and traced to its farthest source the

origin of the Aryan peoples; the latter shows that the arts of craftsmen had reached a certain excellence before the European parted company with the natives of India. But by neither of these clues can any connection be traced between China and other lands. The language, even in its simplest roots, has no analogue; and the implements of industry have characteristic forms that demonstrate their origin to be distinct. The anvil of the Chinese smith is not flat like the anvils of other countries, but convex on its face or working surface, and the bellows of a Chinese forge, instead of moving vertically, has a horizontal stroke. The paper of the Chinese is thin and weak, is printed on one side only, but doubled to present a folded edge at the rim of the leaf, and a printed surface on each side. The chain-pump of China has a square barrel, that of other lands is cylindric. Brass is made elsewhere by melting together copper and zinc in a crucible; in China by suspending thin sheets of copper, heated almost to melting, in the vapor of molten zinc. The German-silver of Europe is made by combining the materials in their metallic condition; its Chinese equivalent by mingling the ores of the metals and reducing them together to produce the alloy. Spangles are made, not by cutting or stamping from sheet metal, but by flattening wire first bent into annular form. Pewter vessels are not cast, but are shaped by hammering upon a block. The primitive mill used in many countries—in Normandy for crushing apples for cider, in South America for pulverizing ores, in our own country for powdering the scoria of assaying pots, and composed of a wheel travelling in a groove or channel, has, among western nations, its wheel running continuously in a circular track around a vertical axis; in China its wheel working to and fro in a semicircular track, and around a horizontal centre of movement. Chinese lanterns are not made of horn, like those used by the Romans, or of perforated metal as long since in our own country, or of glass, as is now universal, but are of varnished paper stretched on bamboo frames, sometimes of little cost for the multitude, sometimes of great intrinsic worth and blazoned with titles, for the mandarins. The domestic industry of other lands has

obtained the healthful acid of vinegar from the acetic fermentation of the sweet juices of fruits; the Chinese by placing in water the sea polypus found along the coasts. Fish culture, now a matter of government solicitude in our own and other countries, is old in China; but the Chinese fish culturist puts the spawn in an egg-shell and places it under a sitting fowl, and after due delay breaks the shell into water warmed by the sun. These are not trifles. They show that in the earliest period of her existence, China drew nothing from other lands. In what she required she originated all, she imitated nothing.

And even in the things that for ages have been common in other countries, we find that in unnumbered instances their parallelism with those of China is of but modern date; that they, too, at former periods have shown by their use in China and nowhere else that they were but further proofs of the self-sufficing and self-supplying character of the Chinese mind. It was this that discovered the polarity of the magnetic needle and applied it to use in the compass, and obviated its dip by the simple device of placing its weight below the point of suspension; and it was this, too, that first perceived and made allowance for the variation of the needle from the true pole. It was to this that was due the invention of printing and its perfection to the highest degree permitted by the language, for with the Chinese alphabet there is no advantage in interchangeable types. It was from this that arose the invention of paper in the first century of our era, the production of inks having a carbon base, as with the printer's-ink of to-day, and the manufacture of lamp-black from the burning of oils. It was this that devised the drilling of grain as distinguished from broadcast sowing, a method that saves in the annual seedtime of China as much as would feed the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland. The primitive Chinese mill for the hulling of rice is substantially the same as the modern mill for decorticating wheat; and another apparatus for the same purpose, a lever armed with a stone at its outer end and actuated at the other by arms radiating from the shaft of a water-wheel, differs in no essential respect from the principle of the trip-hammer.

What in our day is known as the Belgian system of canal propulsion, and now on trial on the Erie Canal, was derived from the Chinese method of crossing rivers. The plan by which life-boats are worked to and fro for the relief of stranded vessels is the same as that by which the ships of mandarins were drawn against the current of the Yellow River centuries ago. The paddle-wheel was used for purposes of propulsion in China long ages before it revolved in western waters. It was the structure of the Chinese junk that afforded the prototype of the water-tight bulkheads used in our modern steam-ships. Upon rafts or hurdles of bamboo the Chinese spread layers of earth which they cultivated like garden soil, and thus anticipated by ages the floating gardens of Mexico. In our own country a factory system of making cheese and butter was initiated about thirty years ago; the like was done by Chinese sugar-makers generations before the existence of our continent was known to the eastern world; and the same workers of the cane first used the waste bagasse for heating the evaporating pans. Within the past sixty years the division of labor has become the distinguishing feature of the industrial systems of Europe and America: the potteries of King-te-Chin have practised the same for many ages, the consecutive labor of fifty different workmen being necessary to the production of a piece of the finest ware. They terraced the slopes of the mountains with walls of stone for the growth of vegetables, as the shores of Lake Leman are terraced today for the cultivation of the vine. Mindful of the chemistry of the soil, they early learned to temper sandy lands with clay, and clay lands with sand; and they carefully gathered and applied all manner of fertilizers at a time when the wealth of the Roman plains was passing through the great *cloaca* to the Tiber and the sea. They were the first to unwind the cocoon of the silk-worm and weave fabrics from its threads. They were the originators of porcelain, and *Kao-lin*, the name for the clay of which it is made, has passed into the industrial nomenclature of Europe. They invented gunpowder, not only for fireworks and for explosive mines in war, but for fire-arms, for the embrasures of the Great Wall are fitted for

the reception of the swivels of wall-pieces; and more than six centuries before the Christian era their cannon bore the inscription: "I hurl death to the traitor and extermination to the rebel." They discovered, too, in remote times, that the best charcoal is made from willow, a fact recognized to this day by manufacturers of gunpowder in all parts of the world. They burned petroleum in lamps long before such use was dreamed of among the western peoples; they sunk salt-wells hundreds of feet through varying strata and, finding that inflammable vapors arose in large volumes, they led them to the furnaces for use as fuel in heating the furnaces. They rendered potable the muddy waters of their rivers by treatment with alum—a process employed in Europe with effect for removing clay and other earths from water intended for use in various branches of manufacture.

But these are far from all. They adopted the decimal system for measures of quantity and weight and value, centuries before French legislators recognized its utility or French scientists formulated its application to the traffic of Europe; and now, as in the days of the first coinage of copper, the *lee* or *cash*, a disk with a square hole in the centre to permit it to be placed on a string, is the tenth of a *fen*, and the *fen* is the tenth of a *chen*, and a *chen* the tenth of the value of an ounce of silver. Their units of volume and length were literally native to the soil, for the one is the cubic contents of a hundred of the grains of the *Kow-leang* or high millet, the *Holcus sorghum* of the botanists, and the latter the linear space occupied by a certain number of the same grains, which also afforded a standard of weight.

In minor industries the Chinese long ago saved the culm and dust of coal and mixed it with clay and soft earth from the marshes, to form an artificial fuel, an invention currently believed in other countries to be of recent years. They were the first to make spectacle glasses from sections cut from rock crystal. They made cloth from the bark of the nettle, a project revived in Germany as new within the past five years; and they applied to the extraction of color from a native plant the processes by which indigo is extracted from the *Indigofera*.

They hatched the eggs of fowls by artificial heat, the method by which ostriches are incubated on the ostrich plantations of South Africa. They found food in the roots and the seeds of the lily growing in reedy ponds, and purified the nauseous oil of the *Palma-Christi* until it became edible and sweet. They trained the sheep to carry burdens through the highest defiles of neighboring mountains, and taught the brown cormorant to fish in behalf of his owner in the dun canals.

Such were the manifestations of the Chinese intellect as applied to the useful arts. Such were the implements and methods by which the genius of China manifested itself in originating the industries by which her constantly increasing population has been sustained, and which through almost unnumbered ages have formed the basis of her power and the foundations of her home and foreign policy. But it is to be remarked, and the fact illustrates not only the nature of the people but the policy of the government, that every art, every implement or method related only to the furtherance of manual operations. Nowhere is there the slightest evidence of intent to encourage labor-saving machinery which, by dispensing with the labor of some, lessens the cost of the products of labor to all; but everywhere the ready devising and adoption of whatever furnished employment for human hands or opened new sources from which the individual could derive food and raiment by personal labor. Within these limits all was devised that was required for use in the agriculture or manufactures of the country. But the limit was early reached. Hence the lack through many ages past of industrial advancement which has given to the arts of China the almost stereotyped character manifest in her social and political institutions. Arts and industries thus restricted could only attain excellence through the highest development of mechanical skill; and their rewards could only be obtained through the cultivation of certain faculties and these not separately but together, which may be briefly enumerated as accuracy of perception, closeness of calculation, imitativeness in a rare degree, and unwearying patience. The conditions of existence, from the time of the building of the first mud cabins on the banks of

the great rivers, had developed these qualities with an intensity not equalled elsewhere in the world; and thus a symmetry, perfect of its kind, in the nature of the people enabled them to excel to the utmost within the narrow boundaries assigned by policy, by usage and tradition. This excellence and others akin to it, which constitute an indefeasible merit so far as concerns the Chinese in their own country, is a standing menace as an element in the relations of China with the rest of the world.

In any employment where the qualities referred to are essential to success the Chinaman, their inheritor through a hundred generations, is to be esteemed for his skill and feared for his rivalry. The Chinese waterman will hold the sheet of his sail with one hand and steer the craft with the other, while with his foot he feathers an oar to aid the work of propulsion. The Chinese farmer, in the working of tilled fields, fits the ground for the seed by causing one laborer to dig the stubble with a hoe, another to shake off the earth and lay the haulm in little bundles, while a third stirs the untouched soil between; this manual labor rendering the ground suitable to be further broken by a plow drawn by men and women yoked thereto, or, if the ground be tough from the presence of clay, by a single buffalo. The Chinese colorist uses the pigments common in Europe, but secures a higher brilliancy by longer and more careful levigation in their production. What the Chinaman has once seen done he can do himself, with refinements of execution due to his close perceptions and habits of accurate work. Once taught, he works as an automaton, but as an automaton endowed with consciousness. I shall never forget my first sight, years ago in San Francisco, of a Chinese artisan at his work. It was only the making of cigars, but the tawny fingers moved as if directed by the regular stroke of steam, and with an accuracy that no mechanism could have surpassed. Making no haste and no pause, impassive to the curious gaze of the onlooker, his horizon apparently bounded by the space of the bench before him, stunted in figure, and with the dull and animalized visage peculiar to his race, he stood, a being trained to manual dexterity by forty centuries

of labor, but devoid of the wants, the aspirations, the high humanity with all its attendant needs which forty centuries of intellectual, emotional, and physical advancement have given to the races with which time and circumstance had brought him face to face.

The conditions of soil, climate, and geographical position which have moulded the industries of China, have furnished the basis of her governmental policy. Extending over many degrees of latitude, the climate permitted the growth of widely varying products. The general contour of the surface being low and level, watered by great streams, and favorable to the construction of canals, the productions of one part of the country supplied the needs of others, and an internal commerce served at once to provide occupation and livelihood to a large proportion of the people, and to supply all actual necessities of the whole. Many articles, both agricultural and manufactured, are produced in their greatest excellence in but few localities, from which they are, and for many centuries have been, distributed to other parts of the country. For instance, from its northern portions have been drawn its supplies of salt and in a less degree of coal, iron, and porphyry, copper and gold,— musk from the mountains of Kansuh, and strange drugs from the plain of Shantung. From Kansuh, also tobacco, milder than ours, but none the less esteemed. From the eastern provinces, the most fertile, healthful, and productive of the whole kingdom, and containing nearly half its population, are derived the woven silks of Soochoo, and the vividly colored crapes and fine embroideries of its rhyming neighbor, Hoochoo. Witness, also, the raw silks of Kangsoo, the satins of Nankin, and the fermented liquors of Shaouking; the green teas, inks and varnish of Gahnwuy, the hemp and grass-cloth of Keangsi,— the latter made from the China grass or ramie which has baffled the inventors of Europe and America in attempts to successfully apply machinery to the separation of its fibres; the fine porcelain of Kinkinching, and the hams of delicate curing from Kimwha; the rhubarb and musk, the paper and lead of Hunan. From the western regions, nearer the sources of the two great rivers, and bordered by mountain fastnesses

occupied by tribes yet wild and unsubdued, are brought herbs and roots of medicinal fame; copper, gold, and brass and silver, iron also, and cinnabar from which the celebrated vermilion is made. From the south the black teas, the iron, alum, and tobacco, the camphor, sugar and indigo of Fokeen; the sugar, cassia and betel-nuts of Kwangtung, and the varied and unrivalled manufactures of Canton. Such are a few of the sources of traffic which unite the whole of China in a network of business relations that, by their constant attrition, excite the national intellect to the highest activity in the practical affairs of life.

Because of its diversified productions, each more plentiful in a few favored districts, each portion of the country has found itself more or less dependent upon all the others, and each has found in the other its sources of profitable labor and remunerative trade. And although some little traffic naturally arose between China and the landward regions adjoining, and some with adjacent coasts, she found herself practically independent of foreign commerce, free from all need of it, at a period so remote that no record exists of its beginning. In the watered lowlands or irrigable regions abundant crops of rice, in the northern provinces of millet, gave sustenance and afforded occupation to the great mass of the people; while the other arable lands cultivated by manual labor, or only by the use of the buffalo as an animal of draft, fertilized and tilled like gardens, gave variety to the agricultural productions of the country, and yielded for a given area more than could otherwise by any possibility be obtained. For the Chinese learned early that the surface of soil required to support a farm animal is three times that required for the sustenance of a human being. The localization of special products and special industries, and the interchange of commodities, afforded still other outlets for industrial energy and provided the means of supplying the wants of each from the resources of all. It was not without wisdom, therefore, that the rulers of China accepted the belief that a system of national isolation which arose originally from geographical position, and which had worked well for unnumbered generations, should not be given

up; that a foreign commerce of which she had little need should be discouraged as a disturbing element having, to her, stronger possibilities of mischief than of good.

We may now pass to a more complex phase of the inquiry; that in which racial proclivities are added to physical conditions as factors in the development of Chinese character, and of the elements, good or bad, of Chinese power. And in this we should trace the induration of native endowments by the reiterated effect, through four thousand years, of moral and intellectual laws, as we have sought to trace the results of physical conditions upon those of their institutions more directly acted upon by the moulding action of subjective influences. The process is perhaps more difficult in the one case than in the other, because we must judge of character by its manifestations, while the facts of the physical world lie upon the surface. But it is not necessarily more obscure in its inductions or uncertain in its results. In the pursuit of this branch of our study we may learn that current Caucasian public opinion has underrated the strength and astuteness of the Chinese intellect, and has overrated any other claim which China may have to the favorable consideration of Caucasian communities. We may find, if I mistake not, that the Chinese character is strong not only in its positive but in its negative elements; that the very absence of those finer and higher qualities, which are with us believed to be essential to enlightened communities, has given, and will continue to give, a preponderating power to the Chinese in all that relates to merely material success: in brief, that their civilization bears the same relation to that of Europe and America that the proverbial iron pot bore to the flask of porcelain as the two in contact floated down the stream.

We have already seen that the industries of China were self-evolved; sprang from no foreign source, and were unaffected by any external agency. This carries with it the conviction that the intellectual type must have been developed in like manner, for the same conditions which exclude the idea of any subjective force in the formation of industries necessarily exclude any corresponding idea as to the formation, development,

or progress of the racial mind. That this is the case is also shown by the fact that the governmental, social, and religious institutions are simply an extension of those which control the family in the earliest stages of society. This can be traced in the constitution of the Chinese Empire as clearly and certainly as the banyan tree, spreading its connected trunks over many acres, can be traced to the solitary stem from which it originally sprang. The Emperor stands as *paterfamilias* to all his people; the governors of the eighteen provinces are in the same relation to those below them, and so on, through all the grades of authority, down to the family over which the father exercises absolute control. The social duties have for their essential foundation, first, reverence for the head of the family, and second, reverence for the paternal authority embodied in the officers of the law. Religion, although tolerated in almost all its forms by the State, is, with the Chinese, little else than the worship of ancestors, notwithstanding that their mythology is full of gods,—some of them mortals who died within historic times, and others merely the evils which they dread, for to them even the small-pox is an object of adoration. In the dwellings of the great mandarins are sanctuaries sacred to the burning of perfumes, the presentation of offerings, and the making of prostrations to the memories of their forefathers, and for communication with the spirits of the dead. The poorest laborer, crowded with a score of others in a single room of a mud-built dwelling, has, in a corner of his lodgement, a shelf sacred to the same purpose. Sacrilege itself is defined by the Book of Rites as disrespect to one's progenitors. This, strange and puerile as it may seem to us, becomes almost grand in view of its depth and intensity. It shows how far, after all, the emotional nature of man is superior to external surroundings. For this worship, which dominates China today as it has done for thousands of years, is but the survival, developed and intensified, of the awe with which the earliest Scythians, impressed with the fearful mystery of death, heard the voices of the departed in the storms of the mountain valleys or the rustle of the wind through the grass of the starlit steppes of

the North. Necessarily associated with this reverence of their forefathers is a like reverence for the forms, usages, and customs of antiquity. Hence the permanence of their laws, their stability as a people, notwithstanding the turmoil of many terrible revolutions. These usages and customs have sprung from the same source as the beliefs of the people and are the outgrowth of the idea of the family. For although the inhabitants of northern China may readily be distinguished by speech and appearance from those of the south, yet all read the same language, and all, in essential things, obey the same rules and follow the same principles of life and conduct, and this, not only as individuals, but as a colossal community.

Carrying one of the most sacred laws of the family into the organization of the State, the members of any one of the twelve tribes, each having a common name, must marry outside of his tribe, and with one whose name is different from his own. As a result of this the relationship of blood extends through all parts of the Central Kingdom; and each tribe, though distinct in itself, is bound by innumerable ties with all the others. The idea of the family implies mutual coöperation and helpfulness, and thus, in theory and practice, that which is the controlling motive of the civil organization becomes also the leading method by which the ordinary affairs of life are carried on. Nowhere else in the world is the principle of coöperation so well understood, and nowhere else is it carried into effect with so much utility. No man stands unsupported and alone among the Chinese. Throughout the whole country there are loan societies by which the burdens of high interest are lessened. Every trade, profession and business has its associations; even the robbers and beggars form themselves into guilds; and in localities where the governmental authority has for the time proved too weak to maintain order, voluntary combinations of the inhabitants have supplied its place.

Thus in the nation, as in the families from which it sprang and which formed its archetype, the most absolute form of a centralized government is made consistent with the utmost freedom of individual action. The personal volition of the Chinese is subject only to the rites, observances, and

convictions which are as much a portion of the people as is heart or brain, and as necessary to their normal existence as the air they breathe or the soil they cultivate. For their convictions are so strong—their rites and observances so fixed and permanent, that no conquering dynasty has ever changed them; so strong and so permanent indeed, that every ruler has respected and adopted them. When, centuries ago, Genghiz Khan, the Tartar chieftain, subdued the land, he held it for himself and his descendants only by conforming in every possible way to its established customs; and when one of his line attempted to disregard these, the rule of the Tartar gave way to that of a descendant of the native kings. In modern times the conquering Mongols, who for two hundred and forty years have been the political rulers of China, have held their place only by becoming the embodiment of Chinese traditions. The paternal idea is indeed carried consistently to the utmost limit, in providing for the remote as well as for the immediate welfare of the people. It is this that from the most ancient times has instituted the multiplicity of schools, and has opened the highest ranks, below that of the emperor, to those excelling in scholarly attainments without regard to their original condition of life. It is rare to find in China an individual who cannot read and write. The precepts of their wise men are painted upon the fronts of the buildings, so that, literally, he who runs may read; and an official gazette, probably the oldest newspaper in the world, carries the intelligence of the work of the Government to the remotest parts of the Empire.

Nor must it be imagined that this organization, so simple in its intricacy, and so strong in its apparent weakness, is a thing that has culminated and is now passing to decay. The life of China has been long, and her growth proportionally slow. But it needs but a brief recurrence to her history to show that there has been constant progress toward an end not yet reached, a development that is not yet completed. We have seen that it was twenty-two centuries before the Christian era when the Chinese mind first formulated its thoughts in written speech, yet it required seventeen hundred years before the outgrowth of that intellect took intelligible form in the

writings of Confucius and Lao-Tze. It was one thousand years later still before the system of the great exponent of philosophy and of the laws was regularly organized. And it was two hundred years after this before the Government itself adopted a system of promoting to the utmost those arts and industries upon which the prosperity of the people more and more depended as the population increased, and the conditions of life became more complex. For it was in the ninth century of our era, according to an Arabian chronicler, that the Chinese were, "of all the creatures of God, those who have the most skill in the hand, in all that concerns the arts of design and fabrication, and for every kind of work." The same writer says "that when a man has made anything that probably no one else could be able to, he carries it to the governor demanding a recompense for the progress he has made in the art." The test of its excellence was, that it should be kept for a year subject to the criticism of all who came, and if no real fault were found, the maker was promoted by being taken into the service of the Government. Quaint tales are told in Chinese history of the working of this plan, and illustrating, not only the excellence to which the arts were brought by this method, but the closeness of observation and severity of judgment then, as now, one of the salient characteristics of the race. It is said that an artist represented a sparrow, perched on an ear of standing grain, with such consummate skill that none doubted that the bird was alive; but it so happened that the ear was shown as standing straight, whereas if the bird were perched upon it the stem would be bent, and so the artist lost his reward. In the arts, as in letters and policy, the same slow gradation of successive progressive steps is seen. It certainly required many hundred years to construct the immense system of canals which, even in the beginning of our era, are known to have aided agriculture and facilitated the inland commerce of China. But it was not until the year A. D. 605, that the Emperor Yangti enlarged the entire system and connected the two great rivers. In the early ages of China the records were written on wooden sticks; the art had advanced in the time of Confucius to the painting

of the characters on paper. Yet it was only after fifteen hundred years from this that wood-engraving and stereotyping came into use. It was not until the thirteenth century that the distillation of grain for the production of alcohol was discovered by the Chinese; and it is only since the accession of the Manchoo dynasty that foreign grapes were brought into the country, and there acclimated.

Although, as we have seen, progress has been slow in China it has been sure; and every forward movement, whether slight or great, has added to the resources and the permanent prosperity of the people. The relations of China with other nations during the past century have forced upon her a policy that, when carefully examined, will show a more rapid and more aggressive advancement than any other portion of her history; a policy which, as we shall have occasion to consider, cannot, if continued, fail to have the most important bearing upon the future of our own country and, indeed, upon the future of the civilization of our race.

The retrospect of the past of China and her people shows absolute fixedness and absolute permanence in the direction of the Chinese character, but nothing that indicates that this character is stationary. Its scope is limited in certain ways, but in the line of the course which it has followed for more than four thousand years its path lies open, broad and clear, as it did in the infancy of recorded time. Yet, with all that we have thus far seen, a fair conception of the favorable side of the Chinese character is not yet fully given. Reference has already been made to their close and accurate powers of observation as displayed nearly ten centuries ago, and which form no inconsiderable element of mental strength and intellectual success. A distinguished traveller, in the early part of the present century, attributed to this the numerous discoveries of the Chinese in agriculture, by which they utilized plants of no worth in other parts of the world. And the thoroughness and completeness of Chinese ethics and practice, as applied to the paternal guidance of the population, is demonstrated by the fact that this faculty of observation has been encouraged by Imperial teaching and example. It is written in the Chinese books

that the Emperor Kiang-hi saw in the first day of the sixth moon a field where rice was sown to be harvested in the ninth. But amid all the myriad ears there was one already ripe. He gathered it; planted it through thirty successive seasons, and from it came the *ya-mi* or imperial rice, the only kind that can ripen north of the Great Wall, or that will yield two harvests a year in the south. This new cereal added to the food resources of the multitudes of Mantchuria, and may yet find its place among the grains grown in our own country, if, indeed, it has not already done so.

This faculty of observing the importance of apparently trivial things lay literally at the foundation of one of the greatest works of China. The Tartar horsemen from their infancy were seen to have legs bandied to the curvature of the sides of the saddle, and therefore weak in marching or fighting on foot. Hence the Great Wall, a thousand miles in length, was built, and the Tartars were shut out in the same manner and with the same childlike forecast as the wild beasts that shared with them the wide pastoral wildernesses of the North. The accuracy of perception and the close study of what passes under their observation form the basis of the strong imitative power of the Chinese—the faculty that renders them such dangerous competitors in the practice of every art affording scope for manual dexterity. The same faculty has also made them proficient in arts which they employ alike in the ordinary relations of life and in the highest work of diplomacy. They have been well said to be a nation of actors. The Chinaman is as subtle and facile in whatever requires intellectual work as he is in the performance of manual labor. Add to these faculties that of a suavity and politeness which, though ordinarily formal in the extreme, is nevertheless refined and delicate. In nothing does this appear more clearly than in Chinese diplomatic correspondence with the representatives of other countries. The communications from Caucasian powers have often been singularly rude and uncourteous when compared with the polished and considerate phraseology employed by the Chinese dignitaries. No civilization can be wholly deprecated which has fostered and developed the

characteristics which we have thus far seen to be inherent in the people of China,—characteristics that, almost without exception, are found to be universal with her people; with the ignorant, as with the educated, with the laborer as with the mandarin. And these qualities, always formidable in contests of diplomacy between nations as between individuals, become doubly so when through long growth and persistence they have been intensified, and made unchangeable as elements of national character.

However objectionable from our stand-point the Chinese type may be, it is of marvellous symmetry when considered by itself. Its more ignoble parts are not in any wise inconsistent with those which compel respect: on the contrary, its virtues give vigor to its vices, and the two together, combined in closest union, afford a racial individuality that for aggressive purposes is of more than giant strength.

The slow and deliberate savagery of the Chinese has been remarked from the earliest times in which they came in contact with the western peoples, and is shown in every relation of personal life and national policy. In the ninth century the foreign trade of China temporally acquired considerable magnitude, and led to the settlement of many foreigners in her seaport cities. One hundred and twenty thousand of these were massacred at one time in the capital city of Tche-Kiang. These were Christians, Hebrews, Mohammedans and Magians, whose numbers were ascertained from tax-lists; of the number of natives who were murdered on the same occasion, no record exists. There is no reason to suppose that this was the first instance of the promiscuous slaughter of a large population. Nor from that time to this has there been a single instance in which bloodshed has not been carried to the utmost, wherever territory has been conquered by arms, or cities have been subjugated by siege. Less than seven years ago, the city of Schu-chang, in the province of Kansuh, was held by rebels, and was invested by the Imperial forces. The fortifications were breached by the explosion of mines and then carried by storm. After the surrender the chiefs were hacked in pieces. Nearly sixteen hundred men were laid

on the ground in rows and then beheaded. In the words of the Pekin *Gazette:* "The same night the same corps entered the city, and set it on fire; bullets and spears did their work till the whole local Mahometan population, numbering more than five thousand and four hundred, save about nine hundred females, children and old folk, were given to the flames, and peace reigned in Schu-chang." The official account adds, with the greatest equanimity, that "the maiden and the wife had far from escaped violation," and closes with the statement that the enemies of the Emperor "had been executed as their muster-roll was called, like sheep or pigs in their pens, not one escaping." Such is now, and such has been from the earliest times, the Chinese idea of conducting war.

The ingrained ferocity of the people, however, both in the present and the past, is even better illustrated by their laws and by their social customs, which, as we have seen, have been the slow and determinate outgrowth of the nature of the people through unnumbered ages.

The intent of the Chinese law is to strike the innocent as well as the guilty, and to punish the offender by inflicting suffering, not only upon him, but on all connected with him. A person convicted of high treason is condemned to a slow and painful death, a death preceded by torture many times repeated; for executioners are skilful in reviving the victim for renewed torments. Not only the criminal, but his father, grandfather, sons, grandsons, paternal uncles and their sons, are condemned to death, while all the male relations under sixteen are subjected to a treatment too gross to be mentioned here, and given to the great mandarins for slaves. The female relatives of all ages are consigned to slavery, and all the property is confiscated. Notwithstanding these terrible penalties, no trial, in the proper sense of the term, is afforded the culprit; his case is heard without a jury before a mandarin, who is at liberty to hear or reject as much of the testimony as he pleases; and although a rehearing may be had at the instance of relatives, yet no counsel can be heard, and even the argument of the relations is a matter of favor and not of right. The debtors of the Emperor, if shown or claimed to be guilty of fraud, are strangled,

but if the non-payment be due merely to misfortune, the Imperial creditor confiscates their property, and sells their wives and children to slavery. A slave who strikes his master is beheaded; if he strike with intent to kill, he suffers death by torture; if he accidentally kill his master, he is imprisoned for a certain time, and then strangled; if he accidentally wound him, he is banished to the distance of three thousand *le*, but not until he has received one hundred blows. If a slave is impudent to his master, he is strangled; if to any of the relatives of his master in the first degree, he is banished for two years and receives fifty strokes with the bamboo. The nature of this common method of punishment in China should be understood. The victim is suspended from a beam by means of a rope tied to his wrists and feet, leaving his body bent in the form of a bow; his flesh is torn to tatters by executioners standing beneath. It is the common custom, after the prisoner has fainted, to restore his strength by remedies, in order to permit a repetition of the operation. The extent to which the law, in other words, the bamboo, is brought to bear in all the relations of life, is shown by the fact that when a trader deliberately plans to undersell his neighbors so that they cannot dispose of their goods, he is punished with forty strokes. Chinese marriages are not arranged by the parties directly interested, but by their relatives. If one of the family recalcitrates, after a betrothal has been agreed upon, the head thereof receives fifty strokes with the bamboo, and under this legal process the wedding ceremony takes place perforce.

But the intent and practice of Chinese legislation do not stop with even this, for wherever a person observes a line of conduct that may be alleged as offending propriety, even if there be no special infraction of any established enactment, he is liable to receive forty to eighty blows. These peculiarities of Chinese jurisprudence readily account for the fact that all the mandarins speedily grow rich. Where torture is the mildest form of punishment, a due gradation must render the death penalty frequent for faults considered to be of a graver kind. About a hundred years ago a subject ventured the advice that the Emperor declare his successor, for which heinous offence

he was put to death. The Ming dynasty declared that paper money should be considered the same as copper coin, and that whoever demurred to this should be beheaded. Up to the beginning of the present century, death was the punishment of natives who taught Europeans the Chinese language, or who revealed to foreigners the methods of Chinese manufacture. During the inception of the opium trade, the penalty of death was put into effect to deter the native population from purchasing or dealing in the article. Before the power of the western nations had made itself so effectually felt in China, foreigners penetrating to the interior were beaten, starved, and finally beheaded for their temerity.

A people living under such institutions must necessarily be given over to all the vices that form the common heritage of slaves, at the same time that their peculiar structure of society secures to them many of the strengthening attributes of freedom. Out of the condition of continual subjection to physical force, and the fear of bodily and financial harm, have been developed two notable faculties in an inordinate degree: one, that of deceit and trickery, by which punishment may be avoided and personal benefit obtained; the other that of avarice, the desire for the accumulation of wealth and the enjoyment of physical ease. For it is a law of nature that people appreciate and value most that which they are in the most danger of losing. Out of the same conditions, also, has sprung a disregard of human life which permeates all classes of society. When, thirty years ago, a new emperor ascended the throne, he put to death the counsellors of his father, who, under the stress of necessity, had added somewhat to the privileges of the Europeans. Among the lower orders, the same merciless spirit is shown in the common practice of infanticide; and incidentally and in a less degree, by the almost uniform neglect of the boatmen on the Chinese water-ways to rescue those whom they may see drowning in their immediate neighborhood. A French traveller recalls an instance in which a number of prisoners who were being carried through the country, had their hands spiked to the cart in default of ropes with which to tie them; and it has been recorded as frequently

occurring, that gamblers, after having lost even their clothing, have, in the northern provinces, been deliberately allowed in the depth of Winter to freeze to death. The propensity to gaming, it may be remarked, exists among the Chinese to an extent seen nowhere else in the world. When his last coin or his last rag is gone, the Chinaman has been known to gamble for his fingers—each player, as he loses, suffering the finger to be chopped from his hand. It would be almost impossible to comprehend a character so frantic or so debased, were it not that the statements are made on authority that can hardly be doubted.

As there is seldom a wide discrepancy between the social circumstances of a people and the laws under which they live, the social condition of the Chinese might be inferred from what has been already said. It is best proven, however, by their treatment of women. There is every reason to suppose that jealousy was the original motive that led to the mutilation of the feet of females, common from the remotest times among all except the very lowest classes of the population; and the custom may also serve as an example of the brutal directness with which the Chinese pursue any object they may have in view. The women are treated as slaves; are presumed to have no souls; and are in many cases subjects of established and regular traffic. A member of the British Legislative Council at Hong Kong said, nearly fifty years ago, "the traffic in females is too disgusting to detail—the facts are revolting to humanity." Their place in the household is one of abject drudgery; and, as in infancy they are believed to be hardly worth the trouble of maintenance, so in youth they are not thought to be worth the expense of education, save in the arts of embroidery and the like; and when fully grown, are measured only by their value as instruments of labor or pleasure. It is said that the experience of the Chinese women, abject and degraded as it is, has led many of them to a faith, repudiated by their masters, in a hereafter where sorrow does not exist—a faith springing from suffering; the strange fruit of earthly despair.

It may be very easily conceived that in such a society

religion can hardly exist. That the Chinese worship the spirits of their ancestors we have already seen; and as this is the oldest faith that they have ever known, so also it is the only one in which the belief can be said to be sincere. The creed of Confucius held by the educated classes is simply a formula of materialism in which morality is taught because of its beneficent results on earth, but in which there is no gleam or glimmer of the higher truths which lead humanity to loftier levels of thought or emotion, or which finds in a future life the rewards or punishments of good or evil. Mahometanism in China is even less in morals and ethics than it is in Turkey or in the Barbary States; and Buddhism there retains no spark of the lambent light which shone on India in the earlier days of the cult of Guatama. The Chinese character—intellectual, moral, or emotional—appears to have in it nothing of the religious element, as the term is understood among other races. It has successfully resisted or debased creed after creed that has found either a temporary or permanent place within its borders. The soiled streams of Mahometan and Buddhistic belief found deeper soilure in the degraded ideas of the Chinese, while the purer faith taught by the Nestorians a thousand years ago was extinguished by fire and sword; and the efforts of the Roman missionaries, fervent, earnest and continued through centuries, have grasped only a spotted handful here and there from the sodden harvests of Chinese belief. Whatever may be claimed as to the successes of the missionaries of more recent times, or of other churches, we shall see further on that they afford little encouragement to Christian hope; and if in the future they shall bourgeon into promise of greater fruitfulness, it must be under conditions widely different from those that now exist.

Having considered those characteristics which belong to the Chinese as a practically homogeneous people, and which are common to all grades and classes, we may well ask by what standard of intellect and attainment this colossal population is managed and controlled. In other words, our study now leads us to an examination of the status for governmental purposes of the governing classes. These include, of course, the

Emperor, and his subordinates, the mandarins. Thirty years ago, these latter were stated as numbering somewhat less than fourteen thousand scattered through the country, together with two thousand four hundred at the court. These belong to the civil branch of the Government: the military mandarins numbered eighteen thousand five hundred. The former, however, rank the highest in point of popular respect and administrative power, and with them mainly lies the control of the vast Empire. They are, and have been, during at least three thousand years, drawn from all ranks of the people; their promotion through the several grades being dependent upon their proficiency in literary studies and their success in passing literary examinations. As these studies are those that have been accepted and formulated through many centuries, the officers of the Empire are necessarily imbued with the popular reverence for antiquity, and are fixed and riveted to established usages. As the examinations are competitive, it follows that the strongest intellects are those which rise the most readily and rise the highest. As craft and subtlety have no less scope in this than in any other department of effort, it results that the keenest minds come soonest into power and longest maintain their place on the treacherous sands of official responsibility. As politeness, not less than the other characteristics we have mentioned, is always an element of success, those who combine urbanity with the stronger intellectual traits are first to receive the management of questions of State requiring high administrative skill.

Reasoning from such data, we may infer with certainty that both the home and foreign policy of China is founded on far-sighted ideas of national welfare, and is carried into effect with no inferior degree of executive talent and experience; but this conclusion need not rest on inference alone. It is demonstrated by what is known of the civil policy of China during many centuries past, and foreign ambassadors have not been slow to concede the qualities of consummate statesmanship to the high officials with whom they have been brought in contact. These qualities are displayed in the strict ceremonial by which the honors of office are held before the eyes of the populace, in order that authority may receive its full meed of the respect

which tends to insure obedience to law; each grade among the mandarins being entitled to special observances of regard from all below, and the Emperor being held as the incarnation of all that is to be reverenced by men. They are shown also by the extent to which the people are regularly informed of all that is believed necessary for them to know, and yet systematically misled in whatever becomes the interest, for the time being, of the Government to withhold, as was well illustrated after the victories of the English, when the Chinese throughout the Empire were made to believe that the invaders, instead of being victorious, had paid tribute for permission to retire from Canton. They are illustrated in a stronger degree in the mingled force and acuteness with which the outlying dependencies are held in allegiance to the Central Kingdom, a leading example of which exists in the political subjugation of Thibet, which is ruled through a Grand Lama, whose appointment by sinuous methods has long been controlled by the Emperor. The same craft and astuteness were also displayed in the influence brought to bear upon Nepaul as against the interests of Great Britain, and with the manifest intent of maintaining an independent State as a barrier between British India and the western confines of the Empire. The statesmanship of the Chinese rulers is further shown in their systematic knowledge of the condition of the outside nations, and the manner in which the Imperial policy has been modified according to the necessities indicated by external circumstances.

A few passing references to historic events will illustrate this. A thousand years before our era, foreign embassies passed from India to China, and from that time to the present there has been no exigency requiring the exercise of astute foreign diplomacy that has failed to call it forth. Wherever interest, whether of trade or of policy, has made it requisite that the representatives of China should pass to foreign governments, they have done so. And what is now deemed a step forward on her part in sending envoys to the United States and the western powers is but a recurrence to what she has done, on occasion, during many centuries. In the year 141 B. C., the Emperor Woo-te sent embassies to

encourage foreign trade, and twenty years later his successor sent a plenipotentiary, with a retinue of one hundred persons, to visit the regions of the West; and only twenty years later still, the Chinese Emperor received tribute-bearing embassies from Japan. Two centuries and a-half after this a similar tribute came from the King of India; and after this in rapid succession were embassies from Rome and India; and so onward, although at comparatively long intervals, down to the present time, ambassadors have been sent and received by the Chinese Government. Where Chinese interests have required it, her embassies have gone forth with pomp to distant nations, and, in like manner, when she had no purpose to serve, those of other countries have been met with the same pomp harnessed in the guise of contempt. But whatever her course, there has seldom been an instance in which, from her stand-point, her methods have not been dictated by a far-sighted and enlightened regard for the welfare of her people.

We have already seen that more than two thousand years ago she encouraged trade with nations less powerful than herself, and that in the ninth century her ports were open to the commerce of other lands. This was continued down through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and we have no record of systematic opposition to foreign commerce so long as the nations from which it came were comparatively weak. Two centuries ago the continent of America was a wilderness, and Europe was composed of small, despotic, and far from prosperous States; but in proportion as these, which form the world external to China, grew great and prosperous, in proportion as their military power and commercial enterprise increased, just in this same ratio did China close her seaboard to foreign access. It was not for nothing that the Chinese rulers foresaw that the rapid strides of Caucasian civilization would render them dangerous in the same degree that they were permitted to obtain a foothold on Chinese soil.

Nor was it alone the material advancement of the western nations that bore out this policy and justified this principle of national action. The spread of liberty which has successively

changed and modified every government of Europe, saving those of Russia and Turkey, would have been inimical to the permanence of the Chinese political hierarchy; and it is not without interest and instruction that we learn that it was a knowledge of the French revolution that, in the latter part of the last century, caused the authorities of China to restrict the privileges of foreign traffic, to attempt to exclude foreigners from Canton, and to commit other works of *quasi* hostility which were destined ultimately to end in war.

Nor is the statesmanship of the Chinese displayed in a less degree in their home policy. Every Chinese male is registered, and he can depart to no corner of the earth but his place and locality are known, and the idea of fealty to his native land kept before him as a governing principle. He belongs to his country during life, and his country indicates his burial place when life has departed. The system of espionage extends even to business relations, and its thoroughness and accuracy are sometimes surprisingly displayed. When, in 1839, the opium was delivered up by the British at the Bogue forts, the Chinese commissioner, Lin, was aware, before any account had been rendered, of the exact number of chests of the drug on board the several vessels in the harbor. The paternal character of the government, as well as the rugged statesmanship of the Chinese, is further illustrated by the fact that this opium, upwards of twenty thousand chests, and having an actual value of six millions of dollars, was totally destroyed. The ferocity with which their laws are executed, to which allusion has already been made, is also further illustrated by the fact that a miserable creature who attempted to carry off some small pieces from the general destruction, was, on detection, immediately put to death.

Such is the Chinese nationality; such are its people; and such its rulers. It only remains for the completion of our analysis of this people, to consider their purely physical condition, as we have already considered their industrial, political and moral nature.

The Chinese are children of the temperate zone, and have developed under the influence of a climate sufficiently cold

and variable to insure considerable strength together with great endurance and elasticity to the physical frame, and yet warm enough to yield in abundance the staple food of more tropical lands. Rice, in the larger part of the kingdom, has been from time immemorial the principle sustenance of the people; and the fact that they have not deteriorated to a greater extent under the influence of a crowded population and, with many classes, of a comparative insufficiency of food, is doubtless because this grain contains a larger proportion of phosphates than any other, and thus renders possible the full development of brain and bone even when ordinary nutrition is diminished. Physiologically considered, the organization of the Chinese is coarse, as is indicated, for example, by the hair ordinarily so thick and strong that they, by comparison, liken that of Europeans to soft and downy fur. This coarseness of physical fibre has, however, for them, one great advantage, for, as is the case with animals, they recover from all kinds of accidents, wounds and bruises with much greater rapidity and, as one writer has stated, "with fewer symptoms of any kind of danger," than is the case with Caucasians. As concerns ability for labor, they may be considered as possessed of great endurance rather than of great bodily strength. It was calculated that, of those employed in the construction of the Pacific Railway, it required five Chinese laborers to do the work of four of those of our own country; and I was informed in Nevada that while they were admirably fitted for lighter work, they were unable to perform the heavy labor in the mines. Yet the number of occupations in which their strength is inadequate to the greatest performance possible with laboring men is comparatively small. It should be kept in mind that, both in civil and military pursuits, the value of physical strength, pure and simple, has been constantly diminishing for more than two hundred years. What gunpowder and improvements in fire-arms have done to degrade the value of physical prowess in war, improvements in implements and machinery have done to debase the value of physical strength in arts and industries.

The Chinese marry young, for the reason that the male

children become at an early age a source of profit to their parents, and the marriages are usually prolific. Such being the reason—instead of early maturity, as in tropical or semi-tropical climates—there is not that premature old age among them which one would otherwise expect; for although the proportion who reach seventy years is less than in Europe or America, probably the number that are capable of severe labor at the age of sixty is equal to that of any other country. In the eastern provinces especially, the largest and most populous of the Empire, containing nearly two hundred millions of inhabitants, the people are hale and hearty, and have well been characterized by a close observer as "a great and healthy mass of human beings, athletic and industrious, and capable of the most enormous and unwearied industry." That life in China has reached a certain balance, an equilibrium between the influences which sustain and those which destroy, is manifest when we consider that by far the larger portion of this immense population live in the depths of indigence, and under conditions of life that, if endured by the people of other civilized countries, would quickly reduce them to mental and physical inanition.

Some of the causes of this we have already considered, but there is still another not less important. Owing to the low ebb of medical knowledge among the Chinese and the hardships incident to the lives of the masses, the weaker among the children die early, and only the stronger survive to perpetuate the race. This, continued through a hundred and fifty generations, has produced the physical type of the people; a type in which a maximum of mental activity and muscular endurance is derived from a minimum of comfort and nutrition. The fact that the extent of the Chinese population has only been limited by the means of subsistence, has produced those conditions of life and society which provide to the Chinese the strongest motives for leaving their own country, when the barriers of emigration are thrown down, and at the same time render them most dangerous competitors, wherever they may find their way. In their own country their condition is manifested by the crowding of their dwellings; by low rates of wages; by a small scale of business when they rise above the status of mere laborers; and

by the narrowest profits on every ordinary business transaction. These habits, acquired by necessity and use, are carried with them wherever they go, and as a result they are able to undermine laborers who, from physical constitution and training, are unable to live upon the same minute proportion of the comforts or necessaries of life.

The houses of China vary in construction in different portions of the country. In some parts they are of brick; in others, built of mud laid up the same as concrete walls are sometimes made with us; in others the sides are composed mainly of matting coated with mud, while in one large district the habitations are dug in the earth and form a system of caves or subterranean dwellings. Even in the large cities a family of ten persons can live for about four hundred dollars a year including clothing and food, and with the unusual accommodation of a whole dwelling to themselves. The expense of living to a laborer is stated at from two to two and a-half dollars a month, which includes food, clothes and rent. Away from the cities the expense is reduced fifty per cent. In some cases from fifty to sixty people inhabit a single dwelling, which reduces the expense to each still further. The Chinese emigrants at Batavia, the Dutch capital of Java, showed in each house ten men fit to bear arms.

Under such conditions comfort, health and morals must be reduced to the lowest degree. This is illustrated by the fact that in the north of China the beds are made larger or smaller in proportion to the family, are constructed of brick, and are warmed by small stoves. The usual size of Chinese houses, except among the limited wealthy classes, is thirty feet long, ten wide, and eight high, with streets from ten to twenty feet broad running parallel between the buildings, and crossed by narrow and dirty lanes; and, according to observant travellers, "neither table, chair, or other article of furniture can be seen in the dwellings of the poor."

The rate of wages may be inferred from the average condition of the people. The wages of mechanics and skilful workmen seldom exceed twenty-five cents a day, while those engaged by the month or for longer periods receive still less.

A common laborer ordinarily obtains about fourpence, English, which may be freely translated as eight cents *per diem*. It is this class that constitute the great bulk of emigrants, and who, from their ability to learn readily all ordinary occupations, profit the most when transplanted to some region where labor is in demand. The actual cost of living to a laborer, his wife, and three children is reliably stated at three dollars per month in Canton; while single or elderly persons have been maintained at a cost of one dollar per month.

The small scale to which business is subdivided is shown by the copper coins which form the usual medium of exchange and which form the smallest currency in the world; silver being used only for the larger transactions. An undertaking requiring one hundred dollars of capital is frequently divided among numerous share-holders. It follows that, money having relatively so great a value, the slightest profit is acceptable, and hence in all ordinary transactions bargains are made upon a margin that would be deemed impossible in other countries. As one writer has said, "the Chinese will refuse no money in selling if they can be ever so little gainers." Of course, where business is conducted upon so narrow a margin, slight depressions in the general prosperity of any district produce extreme suffering, such as, for instance, has often resulted from famines. Three years ago, in the provinces of Shantung and Chih-li, a drought destroyed the crops, and as soon as the reserve of food was consumed the people resorted to chaff, the bark of trees, turnip leaves, etc., and were finally reduced to devour the half-decayed sorghum stalks of which the roofs of their rude buildings were composed. It was this famine which was so great that in one place a shop was opened for the sale of human flesh, and many thousands of children were sold into slavery in order that their parents might sustain life upon the proceeds. Aid was given from the other provinces, and it was stated, apparently with truth, that but for such assistance not one-half of the population would have survived until the ripening of another harvest.

Even under ordinary conditions the destitution is very

great, and beggars are brought to almost unimaginable depths. In some cases systematic relief is afforded; but the kind and character of this assistance only further shows the necessities of the people. In Pekin there was long since established a phalanstery, which in Chinese was termed "the House of Hen's Feathers." This was a large building upon the floor of which was a thick layer of feathers, over which was spread one immense coverlet, provided with innumerable holes, each large enough for a human head to pass through. The lodgers —men, women and children—buried themselves indiscriminately in this mass of feathers, each thrusting his head through one of the holes, and each paying the value of a tenth of a cent for a night in this dormitory. In the morning the noise of a *tam-tam* afforded the signal for lifting the coverlet by a pulley suspended from the ceiling, and for starting the mendicants each upon his way.

Such are the conditions of life with the working multitudes of China, a population of five hundred millions confined within a territory of twelve hundred and eighty thousand square miles, or four hundred and sixteen to the square mile. The northern, western, and southern boundaries of this region are formed by the dependencies of the central State. Each of these tributary countries has a less capacity than China proper for sustaining a numerous population, and all have already reached the maximum they are able to support. The only outlet, therefore, for the population of China is to the westward, to Australasia, and to the distant coasts of America. Toward these, when existing obstructions to Chinese emigration are removed, the population of China must as naturally flow as the waters of pent up rivers flow to adjacent lowlands when the levees are broken down. Thus the prospect of the near future (for fifty or a hundred years are but a brief space in the life of nations) is that the outflow of this great people with its ingrained characteristics and its hoary institutions will sweep down upon the slightly settled western portion of this continent, especially upon that richest part of the Pacific slope where the presence of the Asiatics has already produced mischief and discontent.

Peculiarly pertinent to this phase of the question is the fact that the Chinese have never retraced their way from any region where they have once established themselves. The dragon flag has never been more than temporarily lowered from any country where it has once been planted. Time has been within the past few hundred years when China possessed nothing but her own area, the Central Kingdom. Today she has obtained, either by peaceful acquisition or by conquest, the control of the countries of Mongolia, of Mantchuria, of Eastern Turkestan, and of Thibet; while her population is swarming into Siam, and some portions of India, and the complete control of Formosa is but a question of time. More than this, in the Philippine Islands, the first foreign land to feel the noxious effects of Chinese immigration, neither statecraft nor slaughter has been sufficient to uproot the peaceful invaders. Nearly three hundred years ago, at a period when the Spanish residents of the Philippines were only about eight hundred, the Chinese numbered nearly twenty thousand. A well-founded fear on the part of the handful of Europeans led to a contest in which the Spaniards, provided with fire-arms, succeeded in slaughtering nearly the whole number of the badly armed celestials. Yet within thirty years thereafter, the Chinese population had increased through new immigrations to thirty-three thousand. These were in time detected in fomenting rebellion, and the work of the previous generation was repeated. Fully two-thirds of the Chinese were destroyed. After this, legislation limited the Chinese in the islands to six thousand; and in 1710 they were all expelled, and trade with China was prohibited. But with all this, it has been impossible to keep them away, there being at the present time about ninety thousand Chinese in Manilla.

The meaning of this incident in the history of Chinese emigration, is emphasized by the admitted fact that the outflow has occurred in defiance of the authorities of China, and not by their favor. With a wise forecast, the policy of the Government, since the rise of the western powers, has been to keep the Empire intact, and to prevent, so far as possible, the involution of its people with those of other countries. As we shall

see further on, this policy, sound and considerate in itself, has been broken down only by the persistent efforts of the foreign powers, to whom our own country has acted as deputy-assistant in no very dignified manner or degree. The enforcement of Chinese law has been sufficient to restrain the inhabitants of the interior from seeking a foreign outlet, but this has been ineffectual as concerns the outer provinces. The Chinese population on our Pacific coast is about one hundred and fifty thousand, yet all of these have been derived from an area of but fifteen thousand square miles, embraced within the Province of Quang-tung, this area having a population of about five millions. An emigration, in the same ratio of population, from the entire Central Kingdom, would launch upon the Pacific coast a population of ten millions, which would reduce the Caucasian community to the proportion of six per cent. of the total. But so great and so dense is the population of China, that the loss of ten millions of her inhabitants would make no perceptible change in her resources, or in her industrial, social or political condition. These emigrants are from the agricultural and laboring classes, not more than two per cent., according to official data, being of the literary class; but all, owing to the peculiar educational institutions of their country, more or less disciplined by study and instruction. The reports from which these statements are taken, show that "their average wages at home may be reckoned at less than three dollars a month."

It is to the conservative policy of the Chinese Government, and to this alone, that the western coast of America thus far owes even its comparative immunity from the overwhelming influence of Asiatic immigration. I use the term "comparative immunity" advisedly. If China encouraged the outflow of her people to the same extent that she has discouraged it, the Chinese question would have been already settled beyond recall. Reverence for the wisdom of their ancestors in binding each citizen to his native land by indissoluble ties, has until lately led China to maintain a policy, the results of which have been even more favorable to our safety than conducive to her own.

But before proceeding to a consideration of Chinese immigration, as it affects and is likely to affect the interests of our own country, it may throw some light upon our relations with China if we consider how those relations began, and how they have been evolved to their present degree of intricacy and importance. We shall find that our course has been tributary to European interests, detrimental to our own, and counter, in many instances, to the plain dictates of international justice.

The inception of the Chinese question of today lay in the action of Great Britain in forcing the opium trade upon China fifty years ago. For without this there would have been no material breaking down of the twin principles of Chinese policy—the exclusion of foreigners, and the retention of her people within her own borders. British aggression was based upon the necessity of finding a market for the opium grown in India, and this market could only be obtained in China. The Chinese, possessed of little conception of any other than sensuous enjoyment, had long found in opium a source of pleasure at little pecuniary cost, although at fearful expense of health. But so severe were the repressive measures of the Government that the habit was held in check to an extent never elsewhere accomplished with any form of dissipation. The importation of the drug was strictly forbidden under penalty of death. Through the vigilance of the officials the quantity introduced by smuggling was extremely limited, and the cultivation of the poppy for opium-producing purposes was restricted to one or two small localities. Opium, however, was the one great staple produced for export in the Indian possessions of Great Britain, and the financial condition of those dependencies rendered the sale of this article abroad a matter of vital import. Without a market for opium, and the prosperity of trade resulting therefrom, British power in India would have been shaken to its foundations. This market was opened by the sword, and a peaceful nation, striving to shield its people from one of the greatest scourges that ever afflicted humanity, was assailed by armed squadrons; its fortified cities stormed; its people slaughtered, and its Government brought, against its will, into direct relations with other countries, and

compelled to witness the debasement of millions of its people by the use of a drug that destroys physical and mental health, which renders manhood miserable, and old age degraded. The import of opium into China amounts to upwards of seventy millions of dollars annually, so that seventy-five per cent. of all the exports of tea and silk are paid for by the infernal drug; and the quantity consumed, including the native growth, is more than twenty-one million pounds, or ten thousand five hundred tons. The extent to which the consumption of this drug has debased the energies of the people and induced profligacy and poverty, cannot be measured. Nor does the mischief end with this, for, the industrial capacity of the people being diminished, the taxes are lessened, the difficulty of collecting them enhanced and the administration of the government retarded.

The motive which induced Great Britain to force the opium trade upon China, still exists; for the Indian Government derives at this present time each year a profit of eight million pounds sterling, or forty millions of dollars, from its opium monopoly, and without this the British power from Cape Comorin to Lahore would in twenty years vanish into air. It is not without interest, in this connection, that we trace the cry of protection to American commerce in the Chinese seas in part to the participation of Americans in this iniquitous traffic.

It was certified by the United States Legation at Canton in 1858, that "the most active opium business in any single ship was carried on in a steamer built in New York, and floating the American flag." At that time, upwards of one-quarter of the opium was carried in American vessels. Had there been no opium war between Great Britain and China and no attempt on the part of our people to share in the advantages of the trade, there would have been no Chinese question on the Pacific coast of the United States; for in the political as in the organic world foul seeds spread rapidly their noisome growths to distant places, and bear their rank and bitter fruit under circumstances the least foreseen. With the success of the English in securing trade with China, came the

desire of other countries to profit by traffic with this remotest East. The French soon joined with the British. The Dutch, who under severe restriction had long traded with China, were quick to assert their claims. Then came Germans and Americans, and all together united to force upon China a policy repugnant to her national ideas, and contrary to her traditional usages in commerce and industries. In all these aggressions the interests of the United States were of the slightest account, and the profits from her ill-advised interference have been less than the price of the birthright of Esau; for in return for our little gains we have had cast upon us one of the weightiest problems known to historic times. We can only appreciate the relations with China of the United States, and of the western powers, by an analysis of their demands urged by diplomacy, and enforced by cannon-shot.

In doing this, we should remember that China was a nationality independent and established; one that dated from the remotest ages; one possessed of a distinctive civilization; and one which had for its leading political idea non-intervention in the affairs of the nations whose people came from the distant seas. Her institutions were the outgrowth of four thousand years of slow but permanent progress; her social customs had been handed down from generation to generation for forty centuries. These usages and customs were hallowed by antiquity and were the object of idolatrous reverence on the part of the entire people. Yet for their own benefit, and not for hers, the distant nations have temporarily succeeded in subjecting this great country to indignities that they would not have dared to propose to each other, and to which not one of them would have submitted for an hour.

The opium trade began with an armed vessel sent out by the Government at Bengal. It was continued by private armed cruisers, fitted out to resist the Chinese government vessels in their efforts to prevent the introduction of the drug, and which acted as receiving-ships at convenient places along the coast. This continued until the war with Great Britain resulted in opening the ports of Shanghai and Canton to the sale of the article. Thus, by force of arms, China was compelled to permit

a traffic which in the course of twenty-five years reduced the normal increase of her population from three per cent. annually to one per cent. But this was but the entering wedge to foreign demands.

The next step in aggression was the doctrine of exterritoriality, which exempts foreigners from the operation of Chinese laws, and which has been, and still is, insisted upon and enforced by all the foreign powers. Less than ten years ago, our representative at Pekin formally reasserted "the intention of the Government of the United States to claim for all its citizens entire exemption from the operation of Chinese law," and this is the policy of the United States today. No Chinese can arraign any foreigner in a Chinese court, for any offence or any crime. It is not known that any foreigner has ever yet been executed for the murder of a Chinaman, except, possibly, at Hong Kong and Macao. It is part of the system of the members of the diplomatic corps in China to make common cause with each other, in order that what is demanded by one may, if obtained, be shared by the others; and the "favored nation" clause forms part and parcel of every treaty between China and other countries. Among the demands made by France is that of "the right to place salaried consuls at any point, either on the coast or in the interior, and that any place where such a consul resides shall be open to foreign trade." The same power also demands that the revenue derived from the tonnage dues of the Chinese ports shall be handed over to a "mixed commission, composed entirely of foreigners, to be expended in such a manner as may seem proper;" the avowed idea being that the amount should be devoted to the improvements of the harbors for the accommodation of foreign vessels. In other words, it is asked that China shall not only surrender a portion of her legal revenues, but shall virtually hand over the administration of her seaports to foreign powers. Our own country claims that citizens of the United States, importing merchandise into China, "should have the privilege of transshipping such merchandise in their own vessels, or of those belonging to the subjects of China, to any point on the Yangtse River and its tributaries,

without limitation or restraint," which amounts to a claim that the Chinese government shall give up the control of its inland commerce. This demand, made many years ago, has been persisted in by our present representative in China, with the more explicit demand that foreign goods in native hands shall not pay the *lekin* or internal customs duty which is levied on the transit of goods from one part of the Empire to another. This is, in substance, simply the assertion of a right to prevent the Chinese government from collecting its usual taxes from its own people.

In view of these demands it is not strange to find it officially stated that the foreign residents of China regard force "as the only sure and speedy agent for opening up China;" that the merchants "look upon the use of force as necessary to open up new resources and avenues of industry;" and that the missionaries favor it, because it will render their task "less difficult," and also for the reason "that the use of arms to compel submission, is only adding an auxiliary force to reason, to accomplish the great work of the Master."

When we find merchant and missionary using the arguments of the buccaneer in matters of general import, we are justified in further examination of the equities of specific claims. The character of many of the demands for damages made against the Chinese government needs no further illustration than the fact that the indemnity paid by the Chinese, a few years ago, was so largely in excess of the amount actually due that a large surplus still lies in the United States Treasury; and by the further fact that many of these claims grew out of the damage inflicted by the British bombardment of Canton in 1856, or were necessarily involved in the defensive operations of the Chinese. A claim for indemnity for these losses was simply an assertion that the Chinese government should afford to the property of foreigners a protection not given to its own citizens. It is further to be remembered that our own Government was in virtual sympathy with the British assault, and only two years later, one of our naval officers, although we were at peace with China, joined the British in their attack on the fortifications at the mouth of the Peiho. In like manner, nine

years ago, when we were under treaty obligations to maintain peace with China, an American fleet composed of two ships of war and four armed steam-launches was sent by the commander on the China station to prepare a chart of the channel between the main-land and the island of Hanghoi; which was very much the same as if a foreign power, against our protest, should send an armed squadron to take soundings in the East River. As was expected, and prepared for, the Chinese opposed the invasion, and as a result had their batteries silenced by American guns. This, a few days later, was followed up on our part by an attack in which five forts were completely destroyed and two hundred and fifty of the Chinese were slaughtered. How much danger was experienced by our forces in this exploit, may be inferred from our loss of three killed and ten wounded. It was, however, sufficient to cause our envoy to explain to our Government that the "gallantry and heroism" of our marines were "conspicuous," and reflected "honor and renown" upon our "navy and Government." The same spirit, that of the presumably strong against the presumably weak, has been displayed in nearly all the relations of the foreign powers with the people of China.

We have already seen how venerable and how nearly approaching the nature of a religion is the reverence of the Chinese for their social customs. Yet the disregard by foreigners of all that the Chinese hold sacred is deliberately made a constant source of irritation. In the words of one of our own officials, "among the Chinese the unsullied reputation and modest demeanor of females is very highly esteemed; and the rules for separating the sexes are very strict, both in regard to their personal intercourse, and the seclusion of their apartments." Yet the Chinese female converts are led to disregard this public opinion and, by open defiance of the usages common among the respectable classes of their own people, give offence to their relatives and neighbors. In some cases the marriage contract has been interfered with by the foreigners; and it was to such a cause that the death of one of the missionaries in 1869 was due. It is to be noted in this connection that while the assassins of the missionary

were executed, one of them beheaded and the other strangled, certain converts who engaged in offensive operations against the Chinese Government have never been punished; and that in another instance a native convert who headed a mob that killed two hundred natives was, through the influence of the missionaries, enabled to escape beyond sea, and was never traced. Many of the assaults on foreigners which have awakened indignation in Europe and in this country, were kindled originally by the deliberate violation of Chinese law, or of usages which have the force of law. It has been no uncommon thing for the foreign missionaries to assume governmental pretensions, and thus strike directly at the home authority of the local officials. The assassination of the Governor of Macao in 1849 was the result of cutting roads through the graves of the Chinese buried outside of the city, and the riot in the French Concession in 1875 arose from the same cause. When we recall the veneration of the Chinese for their ancestors, it is not surprising that public feeling took the form of violent resistance to the desecration of the graves. It is not difficult to imagine that something similar might have occurred even in an American city, had an identical cause existed.

Everywhere in China the foreigner has sought to enforce his will by the exercise of arbitrary power; the guns of war vessels and the sabres of marines are his only arguments. And inasmuch as the Chinese, though physically brave, are badly armed and worse disciplined, it was only to be expected that all the resources of Asiatic diplomacy would be brought to bear with all of native craft in defence of native rights. Nor shall we fail to find that, after all, the subtlety and far-sightedness of the Asiatic have more than equalled the force of the invaders. The claim that foreigners should trade without let or hindrance in any part of the Empire, and that the payment of internal taxes should be remitted in their favor, has been successfully evaded or resisted until Great Britain, who controls seven-eighths of the trade with China, has virtually ceased to insist upon it. It is not likely that any other country will hereafter seriously attempt to enforce it.

The indirect efforts to secure the purposed dominance of foreign influence in the interior of China by the introduction of railroads, telegraphs, and steam navigation have been brought to the same dismal end.

Meanwhile Chinese merchants, entering the paths of competition which were opened to them perforce, have in a great measure crowded European traders from numerous ports more or less remote from Chinese coasts. This is true of the trade with Saigon, in Cochin China, with Bangkok in Siam; with Singapore in India; with Batavia in Java; and with Manilla in the Philippine Islands. Sometime since the British India Steam Navigation Company had a strong line of vessels on the route between Calcutta and Singapore, touching at intermediate points. A Chinese company started a line between Rangoon and Singapore, and in a short time the British line, except for a government subsidy, would have been compelled to stop,—the carrying business, at latest accounts, being reduced to the lowest ebb.

Six years ago a foreign company without a concession from the Chinese authorities laid a short railway to connect Shanghai with the river entrance to the harbor. It was conceded that the foreigners who undertook the enterprise had no right to do so; and the American minister expressed the opinion that "the body of ministers at Pekin ought in advance to hold language regarding the project of a sort calculated to keep matters in their present satisfactory condition;" which being interpreted means that certain foreigners having stolen a right of way for a purpose not recognized by the Government, the latter was to be bullied by foreign pressure into compliance. An American citizen was placed in charge of the grading, and the American representative declared that he was ready to defend the right of the projectors to build the railway. The only stirring incident in the construction of the road, however, was a fight between the American citizen aforesaid and an old woman whose land was endangered by his refusal to place a culvert where the grading crossed a ditch. Although the projectors had no right to construct the railway, it was purchased by the Chinese

government at a fair price which was determined by arbitration. It is a matter of recent newspaper comment that the rails have been taken up, and exported to this country as old iron.

The history of the attempted telegraph line is substantially identical with that of the railroad. In October, 1875, a Danish company, without any legal authority, began the construction of a telegraph line from Foo-Choo, the centre of the tea industry, to the port of Amoy, and continued the construction, although the officials had positively refused to sign a contract. In this, as with the railroad, the American representative was not slow to intimate that the diplomatic body should insist upon the permanent enjoyment of the rights appropriated without the shadow of law. Twenty miles of the line were destroyed by local officials, whereupon a claim for indemnity was set up by the Company. As the latter had a *quasi* agreement with a body known as "the Board of Foreign Trade" of the Province, the matter was finally settled by the Chinese Government purchasing the whole concern for the sum of one hundred and twenty-four thousand five hundred Mexican dollars, which ended the controversy, and with it the telegraph line.

During fifteen years, the American Steam Navigation Company owned a fleet of twenty steam-ships, two or three of which were of American, and the others of English build, and which traded between Shanghai and the Yangtse ports and Tientzing. In 1875, a Chinese corporation, the Chinese Merchandise Company, had vessels on the same water routes. In that year the Chinese government agreed with the native Company for certain freights at rates more than twice as high as those obtainable by either company in the open market, and which of course amounted simply to a subsidy to the Chinese Company. In less than two years the American enterprise was bought out by the Chinese, and American competition with native shipping was ended on the rivers of China. The philanthropic idea of supplying China with a currency by the coinage of the trade dollar illustrates our ignorance of Chinese methods and Chinese wants. In the north of China, not five

hundred of the new coins were found two years after their introduction; while in the south they utterly failed to replace the Mexican dollar, which is a favorite form of silver.

So much for our diplomacy with China in matters of comparatively minor importance; for those referred to are dwarfed by comparison with the Burlingame Treaty, in which the far-reaching Chinamen found in an American politician a convenient implement with which to manipulate the policy of an aggressive but short-sighted nation. That treaty conferred on each of the parties thereto all the rights granted by the other to the most favored nation. The United States has granted to the most favored nations the right, on the part of their citizens, of passing without restraint to all portions of our country, of transacting business to the same extent and in the same manner as our own citizens, and of freely exercising their religion without let or hindrance. China has granted to her favored nations the right of their citizens to travel to and reside in certain open ports, and nowhere else. To quote the language of our consul at Ningpo, "it is a settled question so far as the Government of the United States is concerned, that missionaries have no right to reside elsewhere than at the open ports," and that such right does not extend to other citizens. This interpretation of the treaty has been concurred in by our State Department, and also by the British government whose instructions to her envoy have been of the same tenor.

Such are the results abroad of our interference in Chinese affairs, and of our diplomatic relations with China. But it is only when we consider their outcome on our own soil that we can fully recognize their utter folly, the mischief already wrought by our colossal blunders and the further mischief that bids fair to come.

When British cannon first opened Chinese ports, California was known to us mainly as a land fruitful in products and winsome in climate: a broad territory, coveted by Great Britain and by our own country, and held with an unsteady hand by Mexico. Ten years later it belonged to the United States, and its gold mines made it the El Dorado of the restless

of all nations. With the others came the Chinese. As individuals they came and returned to their own country, a constant ebb and flow. As a people they came to stay. Their number has constantly increased in spite of all obstacles, until in commerce and industries their influence is dominant through all the Pacific coast, and their advance scouts have extended to the Atlantic seaboard. It is in California, however, that the problems springing from their presence have most forcibly arisen, and it is from California that facts conclusive in the solution of these problems must be derived.

California has a population, Chinese included, of about seven hundred and fifty thousand, or somewhat less than four individuals to the square mile. The land, at the date of its annexation, was held in large grants, some from the Mexican, others primarily from the Spanish Government, and all, so far as they were *bonâ fide*, protected by the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo. Although these lands have in a measure passed to new owners, they have seldom been divided into smaller holdings, and are now possessed by a comparatively small percentage of the entire population of the State. The influx of Chinese labor almost simultaneous with the new settlement of the country, provided a means by which these lands could be worked at little cost, and obviated the necessity, which otherwise would have existed, of dividing the immense ranches into farms. Chinese immigration, therefore, buttressed the almost feudal control of the land. In their turn the great land-owners lent the power of their wealth, their political influence, and their business talent in favor of the system of cheap labor by which their own power was maintained. From this it has followed that the social economy of California agriculture has throughout been different from that of any other country professedly governed by republican institutions or assuming to be controlled by republican traditions.

The great crops which form the staple productions of the soil are such as require no tillage between seed-time and harvest, which thus become the only active seasons of the year. East of the Sierras the conditions of farming are such that there is opportunity for continuous labor from early Spring to

later Autumn, and even in some degree throughout the Winter months; and the farm laborer has opportunity for constant occupation. Forming, as he does, a part of a homogeneous community he has, if a man of family, a fixed abode, however rude, and has within his reach many at least of the ordinary comforts of life. If single, he commonly resides in the family of his employer. Under such circumstances the existence of the farm hand is rendered tolerable, neither undignified nor unworthy; and there is nothing in his condition which need impair his self-respect or deny to his industry or skill their legitimate reward of pecuniary or social success. But nothing of this exists in California farming. The laborer is hired during a few weeks of the heavy Spring work and of the harvest. He receives his wages and his rations, and is expected to lodge himself. Wrapped in his blanket, he sleeps in an outhouse or on the threshed straw under the rainless sky. When the season of driving work is over he goes away, whither no one knows and no one cares. Thus periods of long idleness intervene between seasons of severe labor. Such a system is possible only in a country composed of estates of immense proportions, tilled by labor of the cheapest and most servile kind.

The discovery of gold, the reported fertility of the soil, and the beauty of the climate led at the outset to a large immigration from the Eastern States; to the organization of a commonwealth based on their political traditions and social usages. These traditions and usages were and still are directly counter to those which, in all ages, have resulted from the control of the land by the few, and to those represented by the cheap labor of the Chinese. The civilization represented by the masses of the white settlers on the Pacific coast had, as an inherent necessity, a remuneration of labor adequate to the comfortable maintenance of families, their education, their refinement in manners, mind and morals; which can only obtain where the physical being is sustained by sufficient nutrition, and the intellect and emotional nature suffered to expand by a fair degree of leisure. The civilization represented by the large land-owners was that springing from the use of labor secured at the lowest possible remuneration, re-

gardless of its effects on the laboring classes. This labor was found in the Chinese immigrants who, without families, and used in their own country to the smallest wages, could be obtained in unlimited number at rates lower than those necessary for the bare sustenance of white workingmen. The conflict between these two forms of civilization began early. It has extended to every branch of industry, and the results thus far have been detrimental in the extreme to that which we are accustomed to consider as the highest form of Caucasian society. The Chinese have invaded every department of industry, and Chinese executive ability has marshalled that labor into the most effective opposition to the industrial classes of the whites. Everywhere, except among the wealthy, the white man has gone to the wall in the competition with the Asiatic.

This is most conveniently illustrated by reference to the various branches of industry on the Pacific coast; for the manufacturing interests that, with a normal development of society, would have been built up by white labor, have virtually passed into the hands of the Chinese. The result is, not only that laboring men as such are thrown out of employment, or reduced to wages insufficient for comfortable maintenance, but all those occupations which, even in the most crowded Caucasian communities, afford a frugal sustenance to women and children, are monopolized by the Chinese. For example, in some portions of the Eastern States, as also in England, the season of picking hops is one as festive in character as the vintage of France or Italy, because it affords unusually high wages during three or four weeks to women and children whose labor at other seasons has little money value. Wherever, east of the Rocky Mountains, hops are grown, the hop-picking season is looked forward to by thousands of young girls and by needy families as offering a means of ready money, the use of which is often extended throughout the remainder of the year. In California the hop-picking is done by Chinese to the exclusion of all others. So also, in many portions of the Eastern States, the season of berry-picking affords an opportunity for the earning of money, which to the poor softens the hardships of other and more scanty seasons. In California, berry-picking,

which at one time was availed of by women and children, has been entirely absorbed by Chinese. The weaving, which formerly was done almost entirely by women, is now done by Chinese. In the making of underclothing, Chinese do the work which in this country and Europe is performed by seamstresses. The laundry-work, the dress-making and the millinery-work have been passed to the Chinese. The manufacture of shoes for women and children is entirely in their hands. The gathering of fruit, the digging of potatoes, the care of gardens is for the most part done by them. The handling of the immense crops of the coast calls for the use of many tens of thousands of grain-bags, which are all sewed by Chinese. In the large dairies, some of them having from a thousand to thirteen hundred cows, the milking and other dairy work is performed by Chinese. The seating of cane chairs, which forms the last resource for poor women in eastern cities, is in California given over to Chinamen.

When white labor is thus crowded away from the minor and poorer industries, it follows as a matter of course that other and more remunerative occupations are filled in the same way. The Chinese are employed in the woollen mills; in the tanneries; in fisheries; in the canning of fruits, etc.; in the varnishing of furniture and the like; in the building of embankments for the redemption of overflowed lands; in railway work, the making of road-cuttings, and the digging of tunnels. There is scarcely a manufacture in which they do not constitute the whole or the great majority of the operatives. In one establishment in San Francisco (the Mission Woollen Mills), five hundred and fifty Chinese have been employed at one time. In a neighboring spring-mattress factory, not a single white man found work, and, near by, the only oakum factory in the city was also Chinese throughout. In placer-mining there were four thousand in one neighborhood, near Oroville; and in many localities they have entirely exhausted mines which, although incapable of profit with the wasteful methods in vogue twenty years ago, would have proved by this time sources of revenue to the whites. There are in San Francisco fifteen thousand boys and girls, between the ages of fourteen and

twenty, who, in eastern communities, would find active employment; but they cannot compete with the Chinese, and are for the most part idle.

The Chinaman, it is claimed, and apparently with truth, will learn any given mechanical operation in one-third of the time required by a white workman. He has no family; he lives in the most frugal manner; he lodges upon a wooden bench; he has been used at home to wages that would hardly more than sustain life. His sole ambition is to accumulate from two hundred to four hundred dollars, which is to him a fortune, and which enables him to return as a rich man to his own country. He is obedient and servile. By means of all this he is enabled to live as no white man could live, even if the white man were not burdened with the support of wife and children. The result has been to prevent the immigration of a strong and healthy laboring class of kindred and easily affiliated race from the Eastern States and from Europe. Thus there has been almost wholly wanting in California, the element that contributed so largely to build up the prosperity of the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains.

The evil of this has been twofold. Not only has the sum total of a large Caucasian immigration been lost, but there has been none of the natural and legitimate increase of population that would have resulted therefrom. In the Eastern States the Swedish, Irish, or German maiden finds ready employment in domestic service; in course of time she marries and children are born, and families surrounded by the safeguards of Christian communities grow up to careers of usefulness and often of honor. In the second or third generation the descendants of the European immigrant are so completely merged with our people that no difference is perceptible. In California anything of the kind is impossible. To a certain extent it existed before Chinese cheap labor had become so overpowering as it now is; but it has diminished in the same ratio that the latter grew to be the dominant feature of the Californian industrial system. California has thus been shut off from the legitimate elements of growth which would have made her, in all the essentials of material and moral prosperity,

tenfold stronger than she is today. Chinese labor has operated not only to prevent, but to destroy the normal development of the State, and to throw upon the people unwonted burdens. In every community there are many who, through adversity, are thrown suddenly upon their own resources—children, and tender women who must seek a sustenance in humble employments. Where access to these is closed, as it is by Chinese labor, the alternative is fearful and plain. The woman who, in California, without friends or money seeks to earn a livelihood by any of the occupations commonly open to her class in even the most crowded cities of Europe or of the Eastern States, is met at every turn by Chinese who will work for less than is necessary to support life and health in a person of Caucasian descent and training. There is for her the simple alternative of shame or starvation. The man who is dependent upon his handiwork for daily bread, finds his children dwarfed for need of mere physical nutrition, because his income, beaten down by Chinese competition, is inadequate to their support; and beggary and crime are the natural results.

The same cause has produced another evil of no slight social magnitude. Where young men find the prospect of supporting families to be insecure, they do not marry. From such a condition of society the political economist deduces with certainty that the normal increase of the population will be slow; the student of moral science deduces with equal positiveness that the standard of public and private morals will be debased.

It is an axiom, that where servile labor is brought in contact with that of a higher social character, the latter is brought down to the level of the former. It was an argument used with effect against the institution of negro slavery, that it was not the colored man alone, but the free white laborer also, who bore the stigma associated with manual toil. The same rule of association holds true as between the Chinese and the white workingman in California. In the city of San Francisco, sixty thousand of the Chinese are crowded into six or seven blocks of buildings. A single story measuring twelve

feet from floor to ceiling is sometimes divided by two intermediate floors, making three stories in one, all occupied by Chinese. The streets in that portion of the city are connected from one side to the other by subterranean passages, so that the occupants of the houses pass underground from building to building. Sometimes the upper stories of the structures are built outward over the street until, at some distance from the ground, they approach within two feet of each other. The district embraces among its denizens some four or five thousand Chinese women, of whom not more than one in twenty is other than the vilest of the vile. When the chief laboring class steams and festers in such dens as these, labor itself must stand low in public esteem. And with such associations and such competition, the wonder is, not that the white population is turbulent, but that it is not a hundred times more revolutionary in its ideas and lawless in their expression.

I am aware that it is sometimes claimed that Chinese labor is not servile, but free. In a subject so important, we need hardly tolerate a quibble on words or a balancing of technical phrases. A people is servile when it becomes an inert mass, directed solely by the will of others, and repelled by fear from exercising the ordinary prerogatives of freemen. That this is the case with the Chinese in California, is apparent when we consider, never so briefly, the circumstances under which they are brought into the country, and the tenure by which their stay is determined. The real masters of the Chinese in California are those of their own countrymen who compose the Six Companies, the Sam Yup, Kong Chow, Wing Yung, Hop Wo, Young Wo and Yang Wo. These enforce their authority partly as creditors of the laborers, and partly by combinations with the steam-ship companies. A contractor desiring any given number of Chinese, makes an agreement with one or the other of the companies, which undertakes to furnish the desired number, to be selected in China. A Chinaman wishing to emigrate from his own country to California will, in most cases, borrow money for his expenses, paying interest at from four to eight per cent. a month; and until this money is repaid

he is bound to the company, and goes hither and thither at its beck and call. In addition to the cost of his voyage, he is required to pay seventy-five dollars to the company as its commission. In return for this commission, the company exercises a general supervision and care over each individual, not only finding him employment, but caring for him in sickness and misfortune.

When the company is fully repaid, the immigrant is presumably free, but is not so in fact. Every Chinaman hopes to return sooner or later to his own country, or at least to have his remains laid beside those of his ancestors; but the Six Companies have made arrangements with the steam-ship companies by which no Chinaman, alive or dead, can be transshipped without their consent. More than this, the great majority, being directly indebted to the companies, work for the interests, real or imagined, of their creditors, and a Chinaman fares hard indeed at the hands of his own people, if he is found to be recalcitrant. Whatever name, therefore, may be given to the relation of the Chinese to their employers, they are neither more nor less than servile to the last degree.

Another result that has been observed to flow from this is the constantly increasing arrogance on the part of employers, a fault cultivated and encouraged by the patient and absolute servility of the cheap laborer.

It is no wonder, therefore, that with wages depressed below the point of comfortable living, and with labor debased to the social depths of an Asiatic community, California has not increased in white population, and has materially diminished in that distributive wealth which is the only solid foundation for the material prosperity of a commonwealth. I know that it is claimed that the aggregate wealth of the State has been increased by Chinese labor, but the evidence does not bear out the assertion. On the contrary, it is not difficult to prove that the State is actually poorer today than she would have been had the Chinese never passed the Golden Gate. More than this, it is easy to show that the wealth of the State, even apart from that included in the land, has been principally accumulated in the hands of a few, while the mass of the people has been impoverished. We

may go further, and assert with perfect truth that even the cities of the Atlantic seaboard are poorer by many millions than they would have been had California been dependent upon white labor alone. That State has lost for the past quarter of a century the increase of white population that would have inured to her, had she presented the attraction of high wages to the thrifty mechanics, farmers and laboring men of the Eastern States. And during the same period she has lost the refinements in tillage and the enterprise in commercial undertakings that she would have experienced had her immense ranches been divided into smaller farms, as they would have been had not the Chinese furnished vassals for their wholesale cultivation.

If agriculture has lost from cheap labor, commerce has not gained. It has been asserted that our trade with China has been promoted by the presence of the Chinese. But if we analyze this we shall find it as delusive as the others. Out of perhaps twenty millions of dollars of imports, thirteen millions are in tea and silk which would be imported to the same degree if there were no Chinese on the coast; and the same remark applies to most of the other imports, a very large proportion of which is consumed by the Chinese themselves, as, for example, two million dollars of rice, three hundred thousand of fire-crackers, and one million dollars, more or less, of opium. Of the balance, some three or four millions of dollars, it is difficult to see in what respect it owes its existence to Chinese immigration. It consists of such items as oil of aniseseed, cassia-buds, china-ware, camphor and cassia, all of which find a considerable, if not their greatest market, in the Eastern States, and would be called for regardless of the character of the population on the Pacific coast. On the other hand, our exports amount to between ten and eleven millions, leaving a balance of trade against us of apparently about nine and a-half millions, but which in reality is about seventeen millions. For more than seven-tenths of our so-called exports to China consist of treasure which is listed with the merchandise. This seventeen millions in coin and its equivalent passes to China, and thence, in payment for opium,

to the British, to form part of the fund with which their power is maintained in the East. About one million dollars of our exports consist of quicksilver, and another million of sundries. The export of flour, about which so much has been said, amounts to only thirteen or fourteen thousand barrels per annum; of coal, about fifteen thousand tons; and of lumber, about two million feet, having a value of some fifty thousand dollars. There is not enough in this showing to indicate any great or permanent advantage to this country from the continuance of commerce with China.

But the story is not yet fully told. There are in San Francisco fifteen or twenty Chinese firms through whom the great bulk of this commerce is transacted, and its profit goes not to our own people, but to the Chinese, whose allegiance is to their own country, and whose wealth is part of the wealth of China. The wealth that has been accumulated through Chinese labor has been amassed by the few, and has contributed nothing to the prosperity of the masses. It is not twenty years since the Pacific Railway was built with subsidies from the Federal and the State government, and even of counties along the line. The cost of building the road was based upon estimates of the ruling rates of white labor. Upon these estimates the appropriations and subscriptions were made. When the work was undertaken, instead of employing the workingmen of the country, the projectors, through the Six Companies, obtained ten thousand coolies direct from China, and with these the road was built. But the profits went, not to the community, but to the few bold business men, whose wealth dazzles the eye and inflames the imagination. And this wealth, obtained in this manner, and concentrated in a mere fraction of the population, has been prejudicial to the best interests of the State, for it has been used throughout to perpetuate the abnormal conditions through which it was first obtained.

Furthermore, the results of the cheap labor of California have come in direct competition with the labor of the eastern portion of our country. For the laboring man, who is accustomed to the standard of life in the East, cannot work and keep his strength on the low wages of the Chinese. And whenever

the products of his labor have come in competition with those of Chinese labor, they have been lowered in price, and, as an inevitable result, his wages have been reduced in proportion. Fifteen years ago, California sent forty millions of dollars annually to the Eastern States in payment for manufactured products; today the Californian market is practically closed to eastern manufactured products, because Chinese labor produces them at lower prices than is possible on the Atlantic coast. In proportion as the demand for the results of labor in the East diminishes, just in the same degree must the wages of the laborer in the East be reduced, and unless this tendency is stopped by legislation, both as concerns the East and the West, it must continue with constantly increasing force until white labor is driven to degradation or revolution.

But the tendency referred to has gone even further than I have indicated. We have seen that the hop-yards of California, some of them of forty and fifty acres in extent, are picked by Chinese whose wages are so low as to afford a virtual bounty upon the product as against that of eastern hop-yards. It is known that within the past few months the tobacco of Connecticut has been shipped to California, there made into cigars by Chinese operatives, and then returned to the eastern markets; so that the cigar-makers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia are brought into the same direct competition with Chinese labor as those of the Pacific coast. As concerns many branches of manufacture, this would occur even if Chinese immigration was restrained west of the Rocky Mountains. But, as we all know, the Chinese have penetrated to every large city in the country. They swarm in Brooklyn, and have their own "Chinese quarter" locally known as "Chinatown." In New York City there are, in round numbers, two thousand of them who, like their brethren in California, take the work ordinarily done by women and children. Here as there, they are without families, and here as there they live in the same cheap squalor and comfortable debasement. It is keeping within bounds to say that for each Chinaman who follows the occupation of "washee-washee" in this country, a family of a washer-woman with four children

lose their means of subsistence and sink to deeper depths of poverty.

It may be asked, why, with these facts staring the investigator in the face, so strong a public opinion as we know exists should have been produced or maintained in favor of Chinese immigration. The answer is easily found. California is in a great measure ruled by railroads whose builders made fortunes through Chinese labor. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company has its vessels manned with Chinese sailors, and makes its profits from the transport of Chinese coolies to such a degree that without this traffic it could hardly exist; and, as we have seen, it is in close affiliation with the Chinese companies through whom the immense flood of Asiatic laborers has flowed into the country. The American consular charges in China have been from one to two dollars per head for every Chinaman shipped; and all the official weight of the American representatives at Hong Kong has been thrown in favor of the trade. And every large manufacturer and great land-owner who has found the profits of the ranch or the manufactory enhanced through the reduction of wages to the lowest point, has joined in laudation of cheap labor. To so great an extent has the fabrication of a public opinion in favor of the Chinese been carried, that after the death of Senator Morton, it was widely reported, and almost as widely believed, that he had left in his own handwriting a report in laudation of Chinese labor and advocating its continuance; whereas the truth was that Senator Morton joined with the other members of the committee in declaring that it has "become painfully evident that the Pacific coast must in time become either American or Mongolian,"—and, with reference to the present industrial condition of California arising from Chinese labor, used the following language: "The Chinese have advantages which will put them far in advance in the race for possession. They can subsist where the American would starve. They can work for wages which will not furnish the barest necessities of life to an American." This committee, of which the Senator was one, and in whose report he joined, spoke of the Chinese as making their way "by revolting characteristics and by

dispensing with what would be mere necessities in modern civilization." Yet in spite of this emphatic language the pro-Chinese advocates have succeeded in spreading the current belief that the distinguished Senator came to the same conclusion as themselves.

It has been supposed by many that Chinese immigration has reached its limit. But this is at variance with what is plainly indicated by demonstrated facts. Although many Chinese return each Autumn to their own country, a still larger number make their advent in the Spring; the annual surplus of immigrants over emigrants being from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand, which insures a constant increase of the Chinese population. As already stated, the Chinese constitute one-sixth of the people of the State; their number being about one hundred and fifty thousand. This is an average of various estimates, and is probably rather below than above the number, inasmuch as the Chinese are most ingenious in evading any accurate enumeration. We may here pause for a curious calculation. There are only between five and six thousand Chinese females in the State; and the Chinamen are, therefore, almost without exception, men without families. Each one of them is inspected before leaving China, with a care equal to the inspection of volunteers for active service in time of war. Without this they cannot be shipped. They are therefore healthy, active and enduring,—as much so, probably, as the average military force of any country. As concerns the white community, the number of men fit to bear arms may be estimated by the same rule that obtains in European countries, which is one in five of the total population. Therefore, of the six hundred thousand whites, there may be counted one hundred and twenty thousand men capable of actual service. From this it follows that in the number of men fit to bear arms in California today, China is twenty per cent. stronger than the United States. We may readily infer whether this proportion is likely to increase, when we consider the low cost at which Chinese immigrants can be brought to the Pacific coast. The charge per head for bringing coolies on a steam-ship is variously stated; sometimes as high

as fifty-five dollars by the advocates of Chinese immigration, sometimes as low as ten dollars by its opponents. The truth appears to be that the actual rates of the steam-ship company is about thirty dollars from Hong Kong to San Francisco, and about ten dollars on the return. I find in a sworn statement made by an expert in the business, that in sailing-vessels the Chinese can be brought to California for fifteen dollars each. Even under conditions hitherto existing, it is plain that the Chinese will continue to increase on the Pacific coast.

But there is another and novel aspect of the Chinese question which gives renewed and multiplied force to every argument used against this Asiatic invasion. As we have seen, China for many hundred years discouraged the emigration of her people. We have seen, also, that the barriers she builded to shield her empire were broken down by force and fraud in which, in the later days at least, we had our share. We have seen, too, that the Chinese intellect, the Chinese character, is strong, vigorous, patient and far-sighted; and that as diplomats the statesmen of China have held their own with those of every other nation in the world. This people thus constituted have now reached a point where the policy of four thousand years is manifestly reversed, and China, instead of standing upon the defensive, is upon the verge of, if she has not already adopted, an aggressive policy.

The signs of aggression are neither few nor obscure. As already remarked, on her own coasts and in neighboring regions she has supplanted the enterprise of Europeans and Americans. This process is now being extended to our own country and, if continued, will soon constitute upon the Pacific coast a power too strong to be overcome by policy or war. The Chinese Steam Navigation Company is about to establish a steam line direct to Havana, which at once will control the Chinese trade with the Atlantic seaboard and the Spanish Main, and provide a means for the easy transport of Chinese immigrants to the United States, the West Indies and South America. One hundred and forty thousand of these, it is stated on apparently good authority, have already found a place in Cuba. Within the past few weeks, we have witnessed the inauguration, with

the steamer *Hochung*, of direct trade in Chinese steam-vessels between Hong Kong and San Francisco. The opportunities afforded by a favorable public opinion and thoughtless governmental action, both in this country and in Europe, have enabled China to avail herself of the latest and most improved resources, whether for peaceful or warlike purposes. Hundreds of the best of her young men have been educated in Caucasian schools; the scientific works of Europe and America have been translated into her language for the use of her officials. Armories have been established on Chinese soil for the manufacture of improved fire-arms for Chinese troops. China has defeated the Russians in Kashgar with muskets from the arsenals of Europe, and has mounted Krupp guns on the earthworks that guard the inlets to the great rivers. And within the past few years she has equipped a navy which, with the single exception of that of Great Britain, carries heavier and more effective ordnance than that of any other nation in the world. And it is this nation, possessed at the present time of a population of upwards of five hundred millions, increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum or one hundred millions in twenty years; it is this nation, hemmed in on all sides, save that of the sea, and whose soil has already reached the limit of productiveness for its people; it is this nation, whose sway has never permanently receded from any region over which it has once been held; it is this nation with which we are now brought face to face, and which we smite with one hand, while with the other we open wide the gates to its inflow upon our territory.

Is it not time we sought to protect ourselves against the influx of such a people, the commercial enterprise of such a country, the possible aggressions of such a power? But in what way shall the inflow be stopped and its reflux be secured? Considered with reference to the formalities and technicalities of diplomacy, the subject is perhaps not free from complexity. Examined with reference to expediency, to the broad equities which, with nations as with individuals, should be of controlling authority, the case grows comparatively clear. Sweeping aside all sentimentality and all technicalities woven by diplomacy, or rather by the lack of it, the most direct method is the best.

Chinese immigration should be stopped by all the power of the Government, and the elimination of the Chinese from our borders should be secured with the least possible delay. And preliminary to these, such legislation should be had as will either *de facto* or *de jure* abrogate our existing treaty with China. Notwithstanding the high authority which has pronounced that treaty as having the force of a provision of the Constitution, I for one must forcibly dissent from such a plea. The same paragraph of the Constitution which provides that treaties made in accordance therewith shall be the supreme law of the land, also declares that statutes made in accordance therewith shall be the supreme law of the land. A law of Congress, therefore, stands upon the same level and has the same force as a treaty with a foreign power. From this it follows that the latest manifestation of the legislative or treaty-making power, as the case may be, must prevail over any previous action of converse tenor, and a Federal statute contrary to a provision of a treaty necessarily repeals the treaty itself. This is sound law as well as common-sense. In order to secure a change in the Constitution, the favorable action of Congress and the consent of three-fourths of the legislatures of the States are required. When such care was exercised to prevent the hasty change of any of the provisions of the organic law, it cannot have been the intent of its framers that a treaty, entered into by a single plenipotentiary and ratified by the President and Senate, should have a power binding as that of the Constitution itself, and be capable of disturbing our industrial, social and political equilibrium. To say that the Senate and an envoy appointed by the President possess a power greater than that of both Houses of Congress and the President together, is to reverse the principles and traditions that have controlled the Government and expressed the will of the people from the beginning. That vigorous action is necessary in our own defence is, I think, clear to any one who will carefully investigate the facts and draw conclusions from them with the same direct logic as is applied to the ordinary concerns of life. And there is no ground for doubt that this action, to be effective, should not be delayed.

I have already said that our treaty with China should be abrogated, and have indicated the general principle through which that result may be directly reached. But this should not be dismissed with a paragraph, and its close and minute examination should not be forborne. The national conscience and the national dignity demand that in an international controversy, our people should show as clear a cause as would, in the case of an individual, call for a favorable verdict in a court of equity. What, then, are the legal and equitable conditions involved in the remedy of the present and the prevention of the impending evil? What are the methods under the forms of law, and according to precedents established as just between nations, by which the policy of the Government may be reversed and the immunity of our people from Asiatic invasion be secured? To answer this query, requires an investigation of the nature of treaties, and their scope and limitations as concerns their binding force; of the course pursued by other nations in similar but less momentous exigencies; of the precepts of our own political jurisprudence; and of our treaty relations with China since and including the first convention entered into, thirty-six years ago. In other words, we are now led to a consideration of the law of nations so far as it relates to the matter before us.

A treaty is not, as pro-Chinese advocates apparently believe, a contract changeless as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and binding for all time, no matter what ruin it may entail. It is an agreement entered into by two powers for their mutual advantage; and, like a contract between man and man, depends for its permanence and validity upon equity and good conscience. Although some treaties, for example those relating to boundaries, are in a manner permanent, as they revive after war unless modified by subsequent conventions, yet most, in the very nature of things, are transitory. The conditions under which they are made change or disappear, and what at first was equitable, or believed to be so, is proven by the lapse of time to be productive of harm. Thus it is that while some treaties have been in a degree enduring, and have established certain principles of public

comity, by far the greater number have been modified from time to time, to bring their provisions into closer concord with newly developed ideas of national safety or international justice.

This fact lies at the very foundation of the law of nations; without it, future generations might be chained and mortgaged by their predecessors, and have no recourse. Without it, a people might be ruined by the mistakes of a vain diplomatist, the treason of a crafty ruler, or the thoughtless outburst of a popular enthusiasm. It is not to be permitted that the liberties, the prosperity, the evolution and development of nations should be arrested by the iron weight of unchanging and unchangeable treaties which, under verbal forms, might place the industries and the social and political interests of a country in jeopardy, as those of this country are jeopardized by China at the present time. Hence, a treaty which tends to the irremediable injury of one of the contracting parties is absolutely void; it has no place in the law of nations. This is and has been held by jurists since the code of nations was first formulated as the highest expression of human law. In the words of Vattel, whose works, during a hundred and twenty years, have been the guide of statesmen and diplomatists: "A treaty pernicious to the State is null, and not at all obligatory, as no conductor of a nation has the power to enter into engagements to do such things as are capable of destroying the State for whose sake the government is intrusted to him."

And, further, not only may no treaty-making power alienate the welfare of its people, but it is contrary to the order of nature and the well-being of humanity, that a nation should be held to conditions that tend to its overthrow. Says the same writer: "The nation itself being necessarily obliged to perform everything required for its preservation and safety, cannot enter into engagements contrary to its indispensable obligations." In like manner Wheaton, the American publicist, whose treatise has been an authority for more than forty years and which, it may be remarked, was translated into the Chinese language sixteen years ago for the use of the Chancellerie, expressly holds that "a total change of circumstances" renders a treaty "no longer obligatory." And the

venerable Dr. Woolsey, whose volume is the text book of American colleges, uses on this head language stronger even than that of Vattel. "A treaty," he says, "in which the "treaty-making power flagitiously sacrifices the interests of the "nation which it represents, has no binding force. In this case "the treacherous act of the government cannot be justly re- "garded as the act of the nation, and the forms ought to give "way to the reality of things."

Let us consider the Burlingame treaty upon the principles elaborated by these masters of juridical learning, and by the truths that spring from natural law as well as from legal lore. That treaty in its direct outcome has convulsed the industries, disturbed the political condition, and destroyed the social balance of one of the best portions of our country. It has arrayed section against section, and class against class. It tends to depress the laborer to vassalage, and to elevate the great landholder to almost feudal power, and threatens at no distant day to deliver one of our fairest regions to the sway of the Mongolian, and to bring to the eastern portion of our country the same embittered relations between capital and labor, employer and employed, that now agitate the people of California and bar the way of progress of their State. Even if that treaty is otherwise binding, which it is not, and even if there were no other objections to its validity, and there are many, its pernicious results and its inherent folly should insure its immediate and absolute abrogation. Its annihilation falls clearly within the provision of the law of nations, and would be more than justified by the primary law of self-preservation.

Nor will we find precedents far or few. History is full of them. Less in magnitude it may be, but in ethics and principle the same. Three hundred and seventy-four years ago the States General of France compelled their King to cancel a treaty "because that treaty was pernicious to the kingdom." Less than four decades ago the same country, under the Lamartine administration, after the flight of Louis Philippe, made solemn declaration that "The treaties of 1815 exist no longer in the eyes of the French Republic." In 1850 Great Britain invoked war, the destroyer of treaties, and

blockaded the ports of Greece because, as was alleged, the courts of that country "were in such a state that justice could not be had" by one Pacifico, a British subject whose dwelling had been sacked to the extent of seven hundred and fifty dollars by an Athenian mob. And this was done notwithstanding the rule of international law under which Pacifico should have exhausted his remedy in the Greek tribunals before appealing to the political branch of his own Government. The action of the United States regarding the French treaties is hereinafter adverted to. The course of Russia in annulling a restriction on her freedom of action in eastern Europe, laid upon her by treaty stipulations with the Western Powers, is too recent to require more than a passing mention.

As concerns the treatment of this question from a legal standpoint by our own government, we have to bear in mind that it is presented in two aspects. First, the legal right of Congress to repeal a treaty. Second, the moral justification for such repeal. The former was indicated by judicial *dicta* nearly a century ago. In the case of *Ware* v. *Hylton*, before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the year 1796, it was asserted by Justice Iredell that if Congress should declare a treaty void, he should deem it his duty to so consider it "and then forbear any share in executing it as a Judge." The question became, however, the subject of more careful and determinate consideration about thirty years ago, and the principles involved have been elaborated by a series of juridical opinions and judicial decisions extending nearly to the present date. It was carefully entered into in 1851 by the then Attorney General with reference to the power of the Secretary of the Treasury in the matter of certain Florida claims preferred under the ninth article of the treaty between the United States and Spain.

Regarding this it was fully conceded that an act of Congress, subsequent to the treaty, conflicted with the latter. The opinion is careful and exhaustive, and its conclusions were expressed in no uncertain terms. It set forth that the only provision of the Constitution relating to the subject is, that

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which "shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or "which shall be made under the authority of the United "States shall be the supreme law of the land." After quoting this, the sole authority under which the government may conclude a treaty the opinion continues: "An act of Congress, "then, is as much a supreme law of the land as a treaty. They "are placed on the same footing, and no preference or superio- "rity is given to the one over the other. The last expression "then of the law-giving power must prevail, and just for the "same reason, and on the same principle that a subsequent act "must prevail and have effect though inconsistent with a prior "treaty."

Further on in the same opinion the same jurist condenses the controlling principles of constitutional and international law bearing upon the question under consideration, in language so clear as to be worthy of extended quotation. He says: "The "supreme political and legislative power of this country is "placed in the hands of the Government of the United States "under the constitution, and its acts are uncontrollable except "only by that constitution: and that constitution does not say "that Congress shall pass no law inconsistent with a treaty, and "it would have been a strange anomaly if it had imposed any "such prohibition. There may be cases of treaties so injurious, "or which may become so by change of circumstances, that it "may be the right and duty of the government to renounce or "disregard them. Every government must judge and deter- "mine for itself the proper occasion for the exercise of such "a power; and such a power, I suppose, is implicitly "reserved by every party to a treaty, and I hope and "believe belongs inalienably to the Government of the United "States. It is true that such a power may be abused, so "may the treaty-making power, and all other powers, but "for our security against such abuse we may and must rely on "the integrity, wisdom, and good faith of our government." From this opinion of the law officer of the government, designed to aid the latter in its relations with foreign powers, we may turn to the decisions of our courts in

which the same problem has been presented to their jurisdiction in matters of domestic concern.

In 1855 the question of the power of Congress to repeal a treaty, came before the United States Circuit Court for the first circuit, in *Taylor* v. *Morton*, before Judge B. R. Curtis, whose profound learning in the higher branches of the law has long been the subject of legal encomium. The action related to the collection of duties, on the importation of Russian hemp, levied under an act of Congress admitted to be in direct collision with the treaty concluded with Russia in 1832. The question so far as it relates to the issue under consideration, was stated by the Court in the following words: "That an act of Congress should levy a duty upon imports "which any existing commercial treaty declares shall not be "levied, so that the treaty is in conflict with the act itself, shall "the former or the latter give the rule of decision in the "judicial tribunals of the United States in a case to which "one rule or the other must be applied." Through a chain of reasoning cogent and convincing, but too closely woven throughout to admit of brief extract, the Court arrived at the conclusion that Congress has the power of repealing treaties. This decision was reached not only from the terms of the constitution itself, but upon the further ground that any other interpretation would render the government of the United States unable to change or abrogate a treaty without the consent of a foreign government. Said the learned and able judge: "That the constitution was designed to place our "country in this helpless condition is a supposition wholly "inadmissible." Upon a still broader basis of reasoning he enforced a primal principle of international law by declaring that the power to refuse to execute a treaty "is a prerogative "of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting "its independence," and expressed his clear and profound conviction of this in the following words, "that the people of "the United States have deprived their government of this "power in any case I do not believe. That it must reside "somewhere and be applicable to all cases I am convinced, I "feel no doubt that it belongs to Congress." The Court

found moreover a leading precedent dating back as far as the year 1798, when Congress declared the treaties with France no longer obligatory on the United States.

The same principle was affirmed by Judge Woodruff in *Ropes* v. *Clinch*, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the southern district of New York, so recently as April, 1871. Although the parties were different, the subject-matter was substantially the same as that in *Taylor v. Morton*, the suit having been brought against the Collector of the Port of New York, to recover duties paid under a law in conflict with our treaty of 1832 before referred to; the duties having been paid under protest. The sixth article of the treaty declared in substance that no article, "the produce or manufacture of Russia," should pay a higher duty than a "like article produced or manufactured in any other foreign country," whereas the Act of Congress levied forty dollars per ton on the hemp of Russia, and but twenty-five dollars per ton on the hemp of India and Manilla.

Here was a direct conflict between the express terms of a treaty and the specific language of an act of Congress of later date. The language of the act was held by the Court to be unequivocal, incapable of any interpretation that would not place it in direct conflict with the treaty. The Court said: "I understand it to be conceded, and if it be not, I should be "constrained to hold that the legislative department in this "government may pass any law it pleases (if it is otherwise "constitutional), notwithstanding its conflicts, and notwith-"standing whatever degree greater or less it conflicts, with the "existing treaty with a foreign nation." In the same paragraph the Court declared that the legislative department has power to "give to those laws efficiency and force." The question had, however, come before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the previous year, in the *Cherokee Tobacco Case*, in which the merits were as follows:

By the tenth article of a treaty entered into with the tribe in 1866, it was agreed that "Every Cherokee Indian and freed "person residing in the Cherokee nation shall have the right to "sell any products of his farm including his or her live-stock, or

"any merchandise or manufactured products, and ship and "drive the same to market without restraint; paying any tax "thereon which is now or may be levied by the United States "on the quantity sold outside of the Indian Territory." In 1868 Congress passed a law for the collection of internal revenue, which imposed a tax "on distilled spirits, fermented liquors, "tobacco, snuff and cigars produced anywhere within the "exterior boundaries of the United States." It is therefore plain that while the treaty guaranteed certain exemptions to the Cherokees, the internal revenue law swept those exemptions away. In the language of the decision of the Court, delivered by Mr. Justice Swayne, "undoubtedly one or the "other must yield, the repugnance is clear, and they cannot "stand together." The determination of the matter was lucidly set forth in the following terms: "The effects of treaties and "acts of Congress when in conflict, is not settled by the "Constitution. But the question is not involved in any "doubt as to its proper solution: a treaty may supersede a "prior act of Congress, and an act of Congress may supersede "a prior treaty. In the cases referred to (*Foster et al.* v. "*Neilson*, and *Taylor* v. *Morton*) these principles were "applied to treaties with foreign nations, treaties with Indian "nations within the jurisdiction of the United States, what-"ever considerations of humanity and good faith may be "involved and require their faithful observance, cannot be "more obligatory; and no higher sanctity and no greater "inviolability or immunity from legislative invasion can be "claimed for them."

The text-writers, following the authorities, of course enunciate the same principle. Story on the Constitution, after an explanation of the force and obligations of treaties, considered as laws, proceeds as follows: "This will not prevent "them from being cancelled or abrogated by the nation upon "grave and suitable occasions, for it will not be disputed that "they are subject to the legislative power, and may be repealed "like other laws at its pleasure." It is thus manifest that the whole course of American jurisprudence, as conceived by jurists, and made authoritative and binding by our highest

courts, holds that a treaty may be repealed by an act of Congress. The vested right of the legislative branch of the government to take such action as may seem requisite for the welfare of the people, irrespective of contracts entered into with foreign nations and here held to have the force of law, is therefore beyond dispute. Such being the case, we are brought now to this further consideration: What questions of public morality are involved in the exercise of the legal attributes of Congress in the premises?

At this point we are to bear in mind another and a very clear distinction which exists between a treaty considered as a law, and a treaty considered as a contract. As regards the powers of the legislative branch of our government the matter must be considered from the former aspect, for this is enjoined by the express language of the Constitution. But as concerns the equities or moral obligations of a treaty, as between nation and nation, it is to be looked upon in a different light. The provision of the Constitution defines the status of a treaty within our own territory: it does not establish its extra-territorial position. This last depends upon the general principles of the law of nations, and under this—as defined by Chief Justice Marshall in *Foster & Elam* v. *Neilson*, and by all the commentators before and since—"a treaty is in its nature a contract between two nations." The legal power to rescind a contract being conceded, its sanctity and permanence should depend upon its fairness. In other words, upon the absence of those elements of deceit, error, or unconscionable hardship which would nullify an agreement between individuals. For it can hardly be maintained that a principle which would destroy a contract between man and man should not be held to apply to one in which the welfare of fifty millions of people is involved.

Before proceeding to the broader consideration of this phase of the matter, it may be well to remark that our courts have carried this idea into effective decisions, as notably shown in the *Cherokee Tobacco Case* above referred to, which was in part decided upon the fact that the treaty would have protected illicit gain within the Cherokee territory and

interfered with the general welfare of the community. It is also recognized in the broad statements of doctrine which I have quoted from Vattel, Wheaton and others, as to the lack of inherent power in any country to lawfully injure itself by the unwise use of the treaty-making power. As I have already referred to the injury wrought to American industries and institutions by the inflow of Chinese under the provisions of the existing treaty, it is hardly necessary to further insist that this alone should be held a sufficient reason why the lawful authority of Congress should be exercised with a view to its prevention.

We may now pass to another portion of the subject, that relating to the origin and effects of the Burlingame treaty. In doing this we necessarily revert to our early diplomatic relations with China the latter designated in the treaties as the Ta-Tsing Empire.

In 1843, at an expense of forty thousand dollars, Caleb Cushing was sent as Envoy Extraordinary, etc., "to estab- "lish the future commercial relations between the United "States and the Chinese Empire on terms of national equal "reciprocity." A treaty was concluded in the following year and ratified by the Senate early in 1845. Within seven years from that date the influx of Chinese into California had alarmed the inhabitants and led to protests which were disregarded by public opinion east of the Rocky Mountains, and treated with contempt by the government. In 1858, an American Commissioner was sent to coöperate with the Envoys of other foreign countries in the accomplishment of the objects sought by the selfish and aggressive diplomacy of Europe. This was but a continuation of our national subserviency to the interests of Great Britain, France, and other European countries who were seeking to establish themselves in Chinese waters for the purpose of controlling Chinese trade. This resulted in a second or additional convention, ostensibly for the regulation of commerce. Although these two treaties in many respects bore in favor of the Chinese and against the Americans, their defects were rather negative than positive. There was nothing in them that divested the United States of the

right to control immigration to its own territories, or to restrict or regulate the privileges of an alien people in its midst.

It was left for an American citizen to resign the proud position of an American plenipotentiary, and to accept in its place the paying patronage of the Chinese Emperor; and through this to fasten upon his country obligations that in every line were a betrayal of her interests and a thrust at her permanent prosperity. In 1861 Anson Burlingame was sent to China as the Envoy of the United States. In 1867 he left the service of his own country, and returned as the head of a Chinese commission; his associates being two native Mongol statesmen whose inferior station and astute humility provided a delicate foil to the ostentatious vanity and empty assumption of the tinsel Ambassador. While the nominal chief of this Chinese embassy was overflowing with, and overflowed by, turgid streams of sentiment, his associates, the sedate Celestials, were quietly engaged in framing a treaty which, in sum and substance, was a series of abject concessions to China. In no wise was it an advantage to the United States. We cannot reasonably objurgate the Chinese Envoys for doing their utmost for their own people, and we may even admire their sagacity in making use of an American implement in compassing their designs. It was their duty to secure the greatest possible benefit to their own government and to its subjects, and they would have less deserved our esteem as patriotic men and skilful statesmen had their efforts been less than they were. But it is hardly possible to speak with respect of the mock mandarin, their associate and instrument, or of his aiders and abettors here. Every paragraph of what is known as the Burlingame treaty is either a useless or mischievous concession, or a formal recital of some mere platitude.

Section I binds the United States not to attack "the citi-"zens or subjects of any foreign power, or their property, "with which they may be at war," on any of the tracts of lands or water of the Empire, which China had conceded to the citizens of foreign powers, and the same section also provides in substance that the Chinese authorities shall not be

divested of jurisdiction over the persons and properties of citizens of the United States, in any tract of land conceded to the latter, except in the special treaty ports. Article II provides that "any privilege or immunity in respect of trade or "navigation within the Chinese dominions which may not "have been stipulated for by treaty, shall be subject to the "discretion of the Chinese government, and may be regulated "by it accordingly." Section III enacts that Consuls appointed by the Emperor of China shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities in the ports of the United States as those enjoyed by the Consuls of Great Britain and Russia. Section IV concedes to the Chinese the previously disputed point, that places of sepulture must be held free from disturbance or profanation, and also provides for liberty of conscience in either country. This latter article, taken in connection with the rest of the treaty, means that an American may enjoy liberty of conscience in the treaty ports of China and the Chinese shall enjoy the same liberty throughout the whole extent of the United States: but as this is guaranteed in any case by our Constitution, and as the liberty existed in the treaty ports without the aforesaid articled, the latter is simply an empty paragraph. Article V, in express terms, "cordially recognizes "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his "home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the "free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects "respectively from the one country to the other for purposes "of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents." The advantage of which provision, in the nature of things, inures solely to the Chinese, for the reason that where one American emigrates to China, five hundred Chinese immigrate to the United States.

The same article contains a proviso that certain laws shall be passed concerning the forced emigration of coolies, and of this I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Article VI is that under which Chinese immigration is protected at the present time, and from its importance I quote it at length. It is as follows: "Citizens of the United States visiting or "residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities,

" or exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there " be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored " nation; and reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing " in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immu- " nities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as " may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most " favored nation. But nothing herein contained shall be held " to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in " China, nor upon the citizens of China in the United States." The effect of this is plain when we reflect that China grants to the most favored nation simply the right to reside and trade in certain specified localities, seven in number, while the United States grants to its most favored nation the right of access for travel, trade, or permanent residence in any part of our country without restriction. Article VII provides for reciprocity in the matter of schools; American citizens to be at liberty to enjoy the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the government of China, and Chinese citizens to be at liberty to enjoy the like privileges in the United States. By this article also, " citizens of the " United States may freely establish and maintain schools " within the Empire of China at those places where foreigners " are by treaty permitted to reside." In return for this it is provided that, " Chinese subjects may enjoy the same privi- " leges and immunities in the United States." In other words, in the seventh article as in the sixth, the half dozen treaty ports, more or less, of China, are set off against the whole extent of the United States.

As article VI was a triumph in behalf of the Chinese people as relates to this country, so article VIII was a triumph for them at home. This article was a clear and formal waiver on our part of the claims which our envoys, both before and since, have made to interfere in the internal affairs of the Empire. For although this was right and proper in itself it was none the less an evidence of weakness as contradicting our own pretensions, and of undue solicitude for the welfare of China while neglecting our own. In the exact words of the treaty, " the United States do hereby freely disclaim and

"disavow any intention or right to intervene in the domestic "administration of China in regard to the construction of "railroads, telegraphs, or other material internal improvements." To render this still more potent and definite, His Majesty, the Emperor of China, "reserves to himself the right "to decide the time and manner and circumstances of introducing such improvements within his dominions," but the genuflexions of our government went still lower, for, to again quote from the treaty, it was, "agreed by the contracting "parties that if at any time hereafter His Imperial Majesty "shall determine to construct or cause to be constructed works "of the character mentioned, within the Empire, and shall "make application to the United States, or any other western "power, for facilities to carry out that policy, the United "States will in that case designate and authorize suitable "engineers to be employed by the Chinese government, and "will recommend to other nations an equal compliance with "such application." By this we are bound to supply on demand teachers in engineering to the Chinese government, and are also obligated to become their humble advocates in urging their requests upon the cabinets of Europe.

In these seven articles is comprised the whole of the Burlingame treaty. It is composed of these seven articles and no more. Not one of these articles has ever brought, or is capable of ever bringing, any advantage to this country in return for the concessions to China. Yet it was this treaty which was ratified by our government and hailed by a large portion of our people with an affluence of delight as inaugurating a new era of peace and good-will to men. Never was human folly more thoroughly exemplified, and never has it been punished more speedily or with greater bitterness. It is twelve years since the ratification of the Burlingame treaty, and today on our Pacific coast the Mongol is stronger than we, and in the eastern portion of our country his advent adds a new element to the complex problems of our restless society and lays a new burden on the already overweighted shoulders of the producing classes. That an international contract in which the advantages are all on one side and all the disadvantages on the

other; in which no equivalent is rendered for benefits offered or inconveniences endured, can be morally or equitably binding, is a proposition absurd upon its face.

There is, moreover, another solution of the question of right, which should satisfy even those who, deeming equity insufficient and expediency a thing of evil growth, contend for legal forms as the embodiment of justice. It is an axiom of all law that where a contract is broken by one of the parties thereto it cannot be held to be obligatory on the other. Grotius authoritatively declares that "every article of a treaty "carries with it a condition, by the non-performance of which "the treaty is wholly cancelled," and Vattel enforces the same idea in the following words, "the party who is offended or "injured in those particulars which constitute the basis of the "treaty is at liberty to choose the alternative of either com- "pelling a faithless ally to fulfil his engagements or of declar- "ing the treaty dissolved by his violation of it." The principle indeed cannot be controverted, for were it otherwise one party flagrantly violating an international compact could still compel another to fulfil pledges given in consideration of the very pledges flagitiously broken.

This is precisely the condition of affairs with reference to the Burlingame treaty. Under the fifth article the contracting powers agreed to pass laws making it a penal offence for a "citizen of the United States to take Chinese subjects either "to the United States or to any other foreign country, or for "a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take "citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign "country without their free and voluntary consent respect- "ively." The United States has kept its part of this compact by sections 2158 to 2164 inclusive of the Revised Statutes, the provisions of which are positive in their terms and almost extreme in their penalties. China, however, has utterly neglected to make such a law or to take any effective steps to prevent emigration, under duress, of her subjects.

It has been already shown that in California the Chinamen are held under the despotic control of the Six Companies, and it is beyond dispute that the Companies obtain their

immigrants through a process of sale which amounts to nothing more or less than an infraction of the treaty. With characteristic cunning and far-sightedness the Chinese place the barracoons of coolies within the territories allotted to foreigners. They were at one time located in Hong Kong, which is under British control; but when the outrage became too manifest they were removed to the Portuguese territory of Macao. To prove in any individual instance that a Chinaman passed from the Chinese population of Canton to the Chinese population of Hong Kong or Macao is, of course, practically impossible, although the fact that such is the case with the thousands thus transferred is demonstrated by the very existence of the barracoons. Further, although the passage of Chinese subjects to territories controlled by Europeans is a matter with which the United States can have no legal concern, and in which by international law it is prevented from interfering, the obligation assumed by China is not qualified by any exception, and so far as her own action is concerned is as obligatory as if Hong Kong and Macao did not exist. The fact that the Chinese government has not thought proper to contribute even the empty form of an edict to the observance of the treaty is a practical repudiation of its provisions. Renounced by China that treaty is not binding upon the United States. Thus the strictest interpretation of law, as does all else, makes manifest the right of our government to avoid in its turn the disregarded compact. The duty, also, is clear, for except through Congressional action there is no remedy. The Burlingame treaty, in fact and substance, is an estoppel upon the full and free administration of our municipal affairs. It is true that China has rendered the treaty void; true that its existence is a continual injury to this country. But before a declaration on the part of the political branch of the government, neither the States in their corporate capacity, nor the Federal courts in considering the treaty as a law, can take cognizance of the truth however manifest. Thus, the action of State legislatures has been repeatedly made impotent and useless by Federal decisions founded upon a treaty nullified by nonperformance on the part of the very power in behalf of whose subjects it has been invoked.

As I draw toward the conclusion of this examination of our relations with China, it may be proper to speak somewhat of the objections made to the repeal of the Burlingame convention by the advocates of the present state of affairs. Few of these merit sober discussion; and many, were it not for the grave import of the subject, might well call for mirthful derision. It is urged that we should not propose to cancel the treaty inasmuch as it was forced upon China; as if a blunder or a crime once committed must be persisted in while the evil of it broadens and deepens until remedy becomes impossible. We are told that Chinese labor "in our fields and "shops will certainly benefit our industry," despite the teaching of nearly thirty years to the contrary. We are informed, in sentimental phrase, that "if the higher civilization and "Christian energy of the American people of California "cannot devise means to remove the ignorance, abate the "prejudices, and enlighten the Paganism of those thus brought "to their doors, it is weak indeed." The sentimentalist being unmindful of the historic truth that the higher civilization, which necessitates comfort and luxury of life, inevitably goes to the wall when brought in competition with the lower civilization which asks for none of these; and heedless also of the further truth that the real object of our Christian energy should be to retain our country for the Christian civilization of our own and kindred peoples, and not to convert it into a colossal remedial institution for the eradication of the moral deficiencies of a race so utterly distinct that its fusion with the Caucasian is impossible.

Proceeding in the same strain, it is gravely pleaded that our law should be "formulated in Chinese" for the benefit of the immigrants, "and that direct oversight by responsible "officers [should be] maintained over this alien population, "which it is the duty of a government to do;" which would require the addition to our government of a special eleemosynary department. We are also to "prevent the extension of opium-smoking among them," but are not informed how this very desirable object is to be achieved, the penalty of death having been insufficient to restrain the Celestials from

this vice in their own country. We are to "learn thoroughly the working of their companies and guilds," but are left in darkness as to the *modus operandi* of so doing, and necessarily so, for these companies and guilds have a secrecy as deep as that of any secret societies in the world: these associations being one of the means by which Chinese competition with the white races is advanced and strengthened. We are to "encourage them to bring their families," but as the advocate of this "encouragement" sets forth in another part of his statement (I am quoting from an official report) that "Chinese "women refuse to go anywhere," it is difficult to perceive in what way the encouraging process could bring forth any tangible result.

It is also said that we are to "inform them upon whatever will help them to become better," and this is proposed to be accomplished by "educating a number of Americans in the "Chinese language for official interpretors and translators;" in other words, through the agency of a legion of pensionaries of the government. I would not have referred to this spur of the subject in so long a paragraph were it not that the sentences quoted are fair illustrations of what passes for reasoning in the pro-Chinese mind. They are taken word for word from the public document, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, for the year 1876. Their author was a member of the United States Legation at Pekin. It may perhaps be worth while to quote still further from the document from which these extracts are taken. It ascribes the inflow of Chinese in California to "the Providence of God," forgetful that it had its beginning, as we have had occasion to note, in brutal aggressions of which we were quick to take advantage and in which to no small extent we shared, upon a power that had never harmed us, and that it has reached its present proportions because we have recklessly left open the gateways of our own land while wantonly reaching forth to spoil the possessions of another.

One further comment on this Chinese encomiast. He asserts that the repeal of the treaty "would have little or no "effect upon the emigration" and that "the Imperial govern-

"ment can no more control the movements of its subjects or "keep them within its territory than the President can restrain "those of our citizens." This is on page 67 of the volume referred to and is dated Pekin, June 30th, 1876. On page 48, under date of March 21st of the same year, another official, the American Minister, writing from Hong Kong concerning the treaty concluded six weeks earlier between China and Peru states that "the great object of Peru in procuring a treaty was to promote Chinese immigration, this had been virtually stopped by the action taken at Macao, here in Hong Kong and by the Chinese authorities." It is, moreover, a matter of the commonest historic notoriety that for ages the Emperor had, and exercised, the power of preventing emigration, wherever the traditional policy of the country seemed to require it. The assertion that the despotic ruler of China, whose will is law throughout his vast dominions, has no greater power than the president of a constitutional Republic calls for no remark.

Of no greater weight as reasons, but from their origin and occasion requiring more serious consideration, are the allegations of the Executive in the veto of the bill passed by Congress in February, 1879.

This, as presented to the Executive, forbade the transport of more than fifteen Chinese on any one vessel entering the ports of the United States, and it also directly repealed articles V and VI of the Burlingame Treaty. This repeal was designed to take effect through the action enjoined on the Executive. Omitting reference to the platitudes which have no practical bearing upon the question, it is sufficient to say the veto turns upon an implied denial of the right of Congress to act in the premises.

The words of the veto on this head are as follows, "the "authority of Congress to terminate a treaty with a foreign "power by expressing the will of the nation to no longer "adhere to it is as free from controversy under our con-"stitution as is the further proposition that the power of "making new treaties, or modifying existing treaties, is not "allotted by the Constitution in Congress but in the President "by and with the advice of the Senate, as shown by the con-

"currence of two-thirds of that body." The meaning of this is hardly clear; it first admits the authority of Congress "to "terminate a treaty with a foreign power" and then sets forth, if it has any meaning at all, that Congress cannot terminate two articles of that treaty. In other words, the somewhat anomalous idea is advanced that while Congress can abrogate an entire treaty, it cannot abrogate a part of it. I venture to say that there is nowhere in the jurisprudence of the civilized world a single decision of any court or a single opinion of any recognized publicist by which this proposition can be claimed to be endorsed. Its fallacy is shown by the decisions of our own courts, hereinbefore previously referred to, for in regard to the treaty with Russia the right of Congress to annul the provision relating to the duties on Russian products was fully and absolutely sustained. The Executive in his veto of the bill appears to have been quite unfamilar with these decisions, he refers to the Act of Congress in 1798 concerning the French treaty, in a manner that clearly indicates this to be the only case bearing upon the subject to which his attention had been called; and even as concerns this, exception may be justly taken to the interpretation which he has placed upon it.

This veto, however, indicates a meaning deeper than is borne upon its face. It is an assertion that the action of the popular branch of the Government may be ignored even in municipal affairs at the will of the treaty-making power; and that in certain contingencies affecting the internal administration of the country, the President may defy both houses of Congress together. Nothing more subversive of the structure of our government or the genius of our institutions can be conceived. Under cover of a treaty once concluded the Executive could block the way to change, however necessary, provided only that the requisite action should be the repeal of some but not all of the articles. A new treaty cannot be concluded without the consent of the President, and if a part of a treaty can only be repealed by such new treaty it would follow that Congress and the people would be powerless under the will of an obstinate master, and the authority

of Congress as a coördinate branch of the government would in such cases be utterly destroyed. It is not necessary to argue that in this country it has never been intended that such power should be asserted or wielded by the Executive.

There is another, though by comparison a minor error, in the veto. It carries the idea throughout, although not in express terms, that the passage of the bill would have operated to destroy all our treaty relations with China. But such would not have been the legal result. Our three treaties with China, that of 1844, that of 1858, and that of 1868, were separate treaties, although successive in their ratification, and the later confirmatory of those preceding. It is almost a truism in public law that where two or more treaties exist between nations the abrogation of one does not necessarily involve that of the other, although it may be made the pretext of formally renouncing the other. In the words of Vattel, "when there "exists between allies two or more treaties different from "and independent of each other, the violation of one of those "treaties does not directly disengage the injured party from "the obligation she has contracted in the others; for the "promises contained in these do not include those contained "in the violated treaty." Even from the stand-point of the Executive, which wholly ignores the fact that China has abrogated the Burlingame treaty by neglect or refusal to carry out one of its essential provisions, the formal annihilation of that treaty would not necessarily work the forfeiture of the two preceding. To state the principle more briefly: while the infraction of one article of a specific treaty is held under the code of nations to release the opposite party from all the provisions of that particular treaty, the abrogation of one treaty does not render other and distinct treaties void, but at the most they are only made voidable.

In view of the utter fallacy of the pro-Chinese advocacy, it may be asked with a semblance of reason, why has our government touched the subject so delicately; and why has its action, when it has been forced to action, been so adverse to the rising cry from the Pacific Coast. The query admits of a double answer. It may be assumed, without violation of

probabilities, that the same agencies which have so sedulously cultivated a deceived and deceptive public opinion in favor of the Chinese, have worked with no less effort to secure influence at the centres of legislative and administrative control.

There is, however, another explanation which at first view may seem less worthy of credence but which shows strong claims to belief in the relative attitudes of the United States and China, and the official utterances which, unless they be taken as meaningless, cannot be held devoid of timorous expression on the one hand and sinister intent on the other. The veto of the Executive, before adverted to, speaks vaguely of dangers that might accrue from rescinding the treaty. The American Minister to China, in writing of the possibility of its repeal asks "would it not, indeed, imperil all our relations "with the Empire?" Not all of official reports or international communications are published in the "Diplomatic Correspondence" or "Foreign Relations." The State Department retains in its secret archives whatever either a farsighted or a time-serving policy may seem to require: what actual utterances of the Chinese government may have been communicated to our own, or to what stress they may have subjected our Foreign policy, cannot at this time be fully learned. But even with that which is open to public, the strong, clear postulates and decisive demands of the Chinese Central Authority are manifest. Said Feng, Taoti, four years and a half ago, to Bradford, American Consul-General at Shanghai: "steamers, guns, and small-arms, the products of the west, the "Chinese can make for themselves." Two months later Prince Kung, Minister of Foreign Affairs, hardly veiled a threat under the forms of diplomatic courtesy in addressing the American Envoy concerning an alleged assault upon some Chinese coolies landing at San Francisco. He characterized in invidious terms a portion of the population of California and "their purpose of interfering with Chinese immigration," and requested "the suppression of such acts, in order to the maintenance of friendship between the two nations." The full meaning of these words is only apparent when we reflect upon the studied avoidance of exaggerated language which forms

the first lesson in the training of the diplomat, and in which the Chinese are no less adepts than are the envoys of other nations. Nor can we find the menace without meaning when we recall again that China is stronger on the Pacific Coast in men capable of bearing arms than ourselves, and that she can transport ten warriors from the middle of the kingdom to San Francisco at less expense than the United States can convey a single soldier and his knapsack from Chicago to the Coast; that she could send vessels with stronger armor and heavier guns to breach the walls of Alcatraz than we could provide for defence, and could send them in shorter time. Fear then, and its corollary a futile expediency, not less than pressure from the classes that profit from Chinese cheap labor, may lie at the basis of our temporrizing policy with China; a policy that drags and dawdles and sentimentalizes, that sends vain embassies abroad to talk, while at home it operates to destroy the control of our own people over our own country, our own institutions, and the direction of our own future.

Whatever the causes of this policy it has lasted far too long. The conflict is upon us. It cannot be evaded or repressed. Each year of delay renders its labor more arduous and its dangers more great. It has been approaching through unconscious ages, for it is the latest result of the advance in opposite directions of two great peoples, because of a destiny forced upon them by the configuration of the earth. The fruitful alluvial of China lay within boundaries that isolated her from the rest of the world; and here, separate from other races, her people increased and flourished and grew strong. Meanwhile the hardy populations of Northern Asia outgrew the food supply of their comparatively sterile regions, and precipitated themselves with futile valor upon the laborious, patient, brave and enduring denizens of the Central Kingdom. Driven back from the fertile plains at the southward, hindered by the sea to the east, repulsed at the north by the barrenness of arctic solitudes, their only outlet lay westward over the comparatively low lying regions where, in later times, were traced the pathways of the caravans that carried to the

countries of the Caspian the slender traffic of the remotest east. Displacing Goth and Alan and Vandal, they urged these onward to new migrations which, in their turn, impelled the German toward the Atlantic. This, the secondary result of Chinese power, gave a westward movement to strong and hardy peoples whose successive invasions changed the face of civilization from the borders of Persia to the shores of Spain. The first waves of conquest were displaced by those that succeeded or were dissipated by fusion with the native populations, but through all the advance was toward the west; in the nature of things there was no receding. And so in the vicissitudes of ages our progenitors framed the new structure of Europe and, developing from the rudest to the highest form of society, created the nations from which our own people directly sprang.

But the progress did not end with this. The conditions under which the Caucasian developed in Europe, after the fall of the Roman Empire, were parallel with none of those known to anterior peoples. They favored a growth of civic liberty, of earnest intellectual effort, and deep and intense emotional feeling, from which grew the complex relations and delicate adjustments of government, of law, of religion, of science, of arts and industries which have elevated man to a higher semblance of the image of his Creator than was possible under the grosser forms of antecedent civilizations. Yet throughout all this lingered the tendency to reach still further toward the west. And after the venturous ships of Icelandic voyagers had crossed the sea, and the records of Iceland had told the tale to the Genoese, the way of the Caucasian was opened to the continent beyond. Then, not yet four centuries ago, our immediate ancestors, the descendants of the westward-moving hosts, came and possessed the land and left it, an inheritance, to us, their children.

And we, from the hamlets scattered along our Eastern coasts, have followed the instinct inherited through centuries and have pressed westward still, ardent, earnest, toiling, and victorious, until beyond prairie and buffalo plain, beyond alkaline desert and Nevadan forest, we have planted our civili-

zation and builded our cities upon the edge of the utmost ocean whose farther waves wash the shores of that China whose prowess gave its first impulse to the westward journey of our race. That journey is ended. We have completed our share of the circuit of the globe. And on our latest territory we are met by those same Chinese, driven toward the east, their only outlet, as we for ages have been toward the west. The two races have met, and one or the other must give way. The Chinese must recoil to his own land, or we must recede from ours. The two races, distinct as if drawn from different planets, compelled by geographical conditions to advance in opposite directions around the world are brought face to face. They will not mingle, they cannot fuse. The Pacific Coast at an early day, and our entire country at a remoter time, must be the inheritance of the Caucasian or it must be the heritage of the Chinese.

Blind and futile, indeed, is the policy that wavers when confronted with such an alternative. The question before us is a question of the migration of races; of the transplanting of nations. It cannot be met too soon or too decisively, for every succeeding year of neglect renders the issue more doubtful. To express the truth in language plain and terse, if our christian civilization, if our enlightenment, if our free forms of government, if our prosperity and power as a people, are to be preserved and perpetuated for ourselves and our children, then the Chinese must be expelled from our borders at any hazard, and at any cost.

7

THE

CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA

Description of Chinese Life in San Francisco.

Their Habits, Morals and Manners.

ILLUSTRATED BY VOEGTLIN.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

San Francisco:
Pettit & Russ, Printers and Publishers.
1880.

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PREFACE.

This book is designed mainly for circulation east of the Rocky Mountains. The pictures of life herein presented are sufficiently familiar to the people of the Pacific Coast. The statistics are compiled from authentic sources, and are believed to be as nearly correct as the customs of the Chinese will permit. There is a wide variance in the estimates of well-informed persons as to the number of Chinese in this State, and also in the various occupations they have entered; but the conditions of life which are represented as belonging to the Chinese in this State will develop wherever that people may go in large numbers. One Chinaman may differ materially from another, but Chinese communities will closely resemble each other wherever they may exist. We do not compare Chinese civilization in the Celestial Empire with the civilization of this country; but simply describe the former as it is developed by the classes of Chinese of whom immigrants from that Empire are chiefly composed. The events of the last few months have transformed the Chinese problem from one of local to one of national bearings. If this little volume assists in the formation of correct opinions as to the desirability of the Chinese as immigrants, the purpose of the author will be accomplished.

MURDERERS ALLEY.
CORNER COBBLER.
"HOT SOUP AND RICE"
A CHINESE MARKET IN DUPONT ST. S.F.
PETTIT-RUSS

THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

Chinese historians commence their second and authentic era with the reign of a sovereign named Fai Ko Foker, or Great King Stranger. He ascended the throne B. C. 3585. From the founder of this line of monarchs they have preserved a national history and true chronological succession of their rulers. The name of this king seems to imply that he was a foreigner, who obtained the throne by conquest. Preceding dynasties only come to us in the form of tradition. The conqueror probably took little pains to preserve the records of the dynasties he had displaced.

The great Chinese history of Tso-Ma-Chiang, written B. C. 122, and purporting to be an accurate transcript of all earlier existing histories which it was deemed desirable to consolidate and preserve, narrates events chronologically from the reign of Hoang-Ti, which commenced B. C. 2697, when he was seven years of age. Five of his descendants succeeded to the throne, then came Tai-Tas, followed by Yuti Tsi Yeone, B. C. 2294. The next Emperor, Ta-Yu, B. C. 2233, caused canals to be cut to convey to the sea immense bodies of water, which, during the reign of his prede-

cessor, had been precipitated upon a portion of China, submerging a large territory. The eleventh descendant of this king was banished for tyranny. King Chang Tang came to the throne in 1766 B. C., and died thirteen years later. The Tsin dynasty reigned from 249 B. C. to 205. This early Chinese era consisted of three dynasties, who successively ruled the kingdom of China, whose dominion had spread into an empire, and the aggregate term of their reigns must have extended over a long period of time.

During many centuries, China, like Corea and Japan, remained a sealed empire, where no possible admixture of foreign blood could occur.

Until the seventh century before the Christian era, they were strangers to any form of idolatry. Pure Chinese are a race distinct from the idolatries by which they are surrounded. China has her ancient picture writings, but no ancient idols. When the great pyramids of Menes were built, in the fourth dynasty of Egypt, B. C. 3890, we find one vast and expanded system of idolatry throughout Asia and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, all worshiping emblems, more or less types of the sun or solar principles. China, standing alone far back in the twilight of history, is a solitary exception, on the continent of Asia.

It is not strange, therefore, that the Chinese, under the influence of this history, are an insoluble element in the body politic of a new nation like America. It is not strange that a people whose civilization was mature before Europe offered a history, cling to the forms and customs which have come down through so many centuries of time.

The Chinese Empire includes four principalities, of which China Proper is nearly ten times as large as the other three. China Proper contains 1,300,000 square miles, and 388,000,000 of inhabitants. The remaining principalities contain a population of about 40,000,000. China Proper is divided, for convenience of government, into eighteen departments. The average population to the square mile is about 300, though the more populous departments sustain a population of between 800 and 900 to the square mile.

Belgium, the most thickly settled nation in Europe, sustains a population of 410 to a square mile. England, 372; France, 172. Compared to these European nations, China is a vast reservoir of humanity, from which a population as large as France or the British Isles would scarcely be missed. It is this empire, with its innumerable inhabitants, that lies almost at the door of the Pacific Coast, with its hungry eyes already fixed on its sparsely settled territory, as the natural outlet for its surplus population. China is nearer to San Francisco than New York, if the cost of travel is made the basis of measurement. The Chinese, accustomed to close quarters and scanty food, can be transported from Hong Kong to San Francisco for $20 per head, with a fair profit to transportation companies. The treaties in existence between the United States and the Chinese Empire secure them the right of free immigration, and the same privileges, except suffrage, which are acceded to the most favored nations. The treaty under which these rights are secured, is known as the Burlingame Treaty, dated 1868; following is the full text of said treaty.

CHAPTER II.

THE BURLINGAME TREATY, AND ITS EFFECTS ON IMMIGRATION.

ARTICLE 1st. His Majesty, the Emperor of China, being of the opinion that, in making concessions to the citizens or subjects of foreign powers of the privilege of residing on certain tracts of land, or resorting to certain waters of that Empire, for purposes of trade, he has, by no means, relinquished his right of eminent domain or dominion over said land and waters, hereby agrees that no concessions or grant shall be construed to give to any power or party which may be at war with or hostile to the United States, the right to attack the citizens of the United States, or their property, within the said lands or waters. And the United States, for themselves, hereby agree to abstain from offensively attacking the citizens or subjects of any power or party, or their property, with which they may be at war, on any such tract of land or waters of the said Empire. But nothing in this article shall be construed to prevent the United States from resisting an attack by any hostile power or party upon their citizens or their property. It is further agreed, that if any right or interest in any tract of land in China has been, or hereafter shall be granted by the government of China to the United States, or their citizens, for the purposes of trade or commerce, that grant shall, in no event be construed to divest the Chinese authorities of their right of jurisdiction over persons or property

within said tract of land, except so far as that right may have been expressly relinquished by treaty.

ART. 2. The United States of America and his Majesty, the Emperor of China, believing that the safety and prosperity of commerce will thereby best be promoted, agree that any privilege or immunity in respect to trade or navigation within the Chinese dominions which may not have been stipulated for by treaty, shall be subject to the discretion of the Chinese Government, and may be regulated by it accordingly, but not in a manner or spirit incompatible with the treaty stipulations of the parties.

ART. 3. The Emperor of China shall have the right to appoint consuls at ports of the United States, who shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities as those which are enjoyed by public law and treaty in the United States by the consuls of Great Britain and Russia, or either of them.

ART. 4. The 29th Article of the treaty of the 18th of June, 1858, having stipulated for the exemption of Christian citizens of the United States and Chinese converts from persecutions in China, on account of their faith, it is further agreed that citizens of the United States in China, of every religious persuasion, and Chinese subjects in the United States, shall enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and shall be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of the religious faith or worship in either country. Cemeteries for the sepulture of the dead, of whatever nationality, shall be held in respect, and free from disturbance and profanation.

ART. 5. The United States of America and the Empire of China cordially recognize the inherent and

inalienable right of man to change his home allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties, therefore, join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States, or any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China, or any other foreign country, without their free and voluntary consent, respectively.

ART. 6. Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions, in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

ART. 7. Citizens of the United States shall enjoy all the privileges of public educational institutions under the control of the government of China; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privi-

leges of the public educational institutions under the control of the government of the United States, which are enjoyed by the respective countries by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. The citizens of the United States may freely establish and maintain schools within the Empire of China, at those places where foreigners are by treaty permitted to reside; and, reciprocally, China subjects may enjoy the same privileges and immunities in the United States.

ART. 8. The United States, always disclaiming all practices of unnecessary dictation and intervention by one nation in the affairs and domestic administration of another, do hereby freely disclaim and disavow any intention or right to intervene in the domestic administration of China, in regard to the construction of railroads, telegraphs, or other national internal improvements. On the other hand, His Majesty, the Emperor of China, reserves to himself the right to decide the time and manner and circumstances of introducing such improvements within his dominions, with this mutual understanding: It is agreed by the contracting parties that if, at any time hereafter, His Imperial Majesty shall determine to construct, or cause to be constructed, works of the character mentioned, within the Empire, and make application to the United States, or any other western power, for facilities to carry out that policy, the United States will, in that case, designate and authorize suitable engineers to be employed by the Chinese Government, and will recommend to other nations compliance with such application. The Chinese Government, in that case, protecting such engineers in their persons and property, and paying them a reasonable compensation.

In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty, and thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington, the twenty-eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-eight.

[SEAL.]

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
ANSON BURLINGAME.
CHIH-KANG,
STON-CHIA-KEE.

The Burlingame Treaty secures to the Chinese in California all the rights and privileges of other foreign born residents, except that of naturalization, but it was not necessary to the immigration of Chinese subjects to this country.

In point of fact, Chinese immigration began as far back as 1848. The *Placer Times and Transcript*, of which Mr. Loring Pickering, of the San Francisco *Call*, was part owner and editor, published the following statistics in relation to the number of Chinese then on this Coast:

"The first Chinese immigrants to California arrived on the brig "Eagle," from Hong Kong, in the month of February, 1848—two men and one woman—but four arrived during the succeeding month. On the first of February, 1849, there were but fifty-four Chinamen and one Chinese woman in California. On the first of January, 1850, there were in California 789 men and two women. During the early part of that year, about 300 Chinamen left San Francisco for the Chinca Islands, having been engaged by the Guano Company.

On the first of January, 1851, there were in Califor-

nia 4,018 men and seven women. On the first of January, 1852, there were 7,528, as follows:

Whole number of males arrived to January 1st, 1852		8,121
Whole number of Chinese women		8
		8,129
Number left for Chinca Islands	300	
Number who died in California to date	250	
Number of men returned to China	58	
Number of women returned to China	1	609
Number in California January 1st, 1852		7,520
Number arrived after January 1st, 1852		4,434
Chinese in California May 7, 1852		11,954
Chinese returned home since (after) January 1st, 1852	17	
Chinese who died since (after) January 1st, 1852, about	150	167
Total Chinese in California May 7th, 1852		11,787

Of this number seven were women, and the remaining 11,780 were men and boys."

The same journal, the *Placer Times and Transcript*, in May, 1852, said:

"It is believed that the number of Chinese in California is now (May 7th, 1852) about 12,000, a few having arrived in vessels, in the capacity of cooks, stewards, crews, etc., which are not enumerated in the Custom House reports."

This was May 7th, 1852. Prior to this, Governor Bigler had issued a message calling attention to the increasing number of Chinese in our State, and urging legislation to correct the evil. The principal result of the message was legislation compelling the Chinese who went to the mines to pay a license tax. This policy was commended by the leading journals of that period. Immigration was checked temporarily, but the inducements to emigrate were so great, that after a year or

two the volume increased, and has continued to the present time. In 1868, when the Burlingame Treaty was ratified, the number of Chinese who had landed in California was estimated at eighty thousand. This number has not more than doubled in the last ten years. It is claimed, however, that the treaty stands in the way of the enactment of laws prohibiting Chinese immigration. The weight of authority is, however, to the effect that the legislative power is equal to the treaty-making power, and may modify or abrogate a treaty which is found to be productive of evil to the country. This was the ground assumed by Senators Thurman, Blaine, Sargent, Jones and other advocates of the Chinese Restriction Bill, which President Hayes vetoed. The President in his veto message admitted the right of the legislative power to modify a treaty in the face of a pressing danger, calling for immediate relief, but contended that Chinese immigration in California was not an emergency justifying such an exercise of power.

CHAPTER III.

THE SIX CHINESE COMPANIES.

The agency by which the poorest Chinese laborers are landed upon our shores is the association of mercantile firms known as the Chinese Six Companies. These Companies are the outgrowth of the conditions attending Chinese immigration. Mr. Thos. H. King, a merchant of San Francisco, gave the following testimony before the Joint Special Committee of 1876:

"Originally they (the Six Companies) were the agents of Chinese firms of Hong Kong. The principal of these were Wo Hang and Hing Wa, both portrait painters of Hong Kong, in 1850 and 1851, and conducted it many years afterwards. They were the principals in opening this passenger trade and sending men here to be hired out. Afterwards other Chinese merchants were added, and they requiring that some agents should be here to collect the advance and contracts, these agents banded together for mutual protection against the coolies evading their contracts, and to keep other or more parties out of the business, as also to insure that the coolie should be returned, dead or alive, at the termination of his contract, and give them confidence, before starting from China, that so important a part should be fulfilled, and that they were here to carry it out. Having these Chinese to supply, they became importers of all the goods that Chinese used, and kindred commodities that they could sell to Americans, and their business growing with their wealth, they became a power to hire immi-

grants, and would intimidate, overawe and punish secretly, the ignorant, for any infraction of their contracts; also to prevent, except in few cases, any Chinese coming here except through them."

Mr. King was for ten years a resident of China, engaged in the consul's office at Hong Kong, and was requested by the Committee to testify, as the best informed man on the subject in San Francisco.

These companies are perilous to California. They administer justice among their own countrymen without regard to our laws. They have no recognized authority in China, but depend upon their own methods to keep their people in subjection. They are, in one sense, guardians of such of their countrymen as are registered in one of the companies. They act as go-betweens and arbitrators, and judge between the Chinese, and punish offenders. They collect regular fees for the purposes of registration and for conducting the business of collecting on coolie contracts. The payment of such fees is also supposed to entitle the person paying to relief in case of sickness. To what extent the benevolent part of the system is carried there is a difference of opinion—Mr. King thought not to a great extent.

The number of Chinese belonging to the Six Companies is nearly as follows:

Sam Yup Company,	11,200
Yung-Wo "	11,000
Kong-Chow "	16,000
Ning-Yung "	79,000
Yan-Wo "	5,000
Hop-Wo "	39,000
Total	161,200

The effect of this combination of firms in facilitating immigration is apparent at a glance.

With rare exceptions the Chinese immigrant has no money. His ability as a laborer in China is only equal to his support. It would take years to accumulate enough to pay his passage to California. No capitalist would lend him money without some security for payment. This security the Six Companies furnish. Whether or not they advance the passage-money, they undertake for a consideration to look after the immigrant and collect it. They assume no responsibility; but, as their business depends upon their efficiency, they will expend large sums to prevent an unfaithful coolie from evading payment. They assume powers over the coolies which render evasion well nigh impossible. The nature of these powers will be more minutely described in a chapter on high-binders. It is enough at this place to say that the Chinaman cannot live in this country unless he fulfils his contract. It would seem that at the rate of wages paid to Chinese laborers in California the cost of a passage would soon be paid; but capital in China as in America has a certain advantage over labor. The contract may or may not be drawn up for the exact sum which is advanced. In cases of women the contract calls for several hundred dollars, although passage is but a comparative trifle. The Six Companies, however, do not contract with women, at least not with the class that come for purposes of prostitution. No matter how much the contract may be in excess of the sum received, the coolie cannot return till he produces a certificate that he has paid his debts

to the Companies. An agreement between the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the Six Companies exists to that effect. And then there are monthly fees to be deducted; and, in some cases, moneys advanced in cases of sickness or inability to procure employment. The coolie is thus retained under the contract of the Companies for months and years; but eventually the industrious ones become their own masters. A contract such as is made between the Six Companies and the immigrant is not recognized as binding under our laws; hence the Six Companies make laws and regulations for themselves. These laws are administered without the aid of our courts. The average Chinese regard these companies with mingled fear, reverence and affection. Knowing little of our laws, and in general studying them only to learn how to evade them, they render implicit obedience to their own tribunals. In case of rebellion the Companies hesitate at no necessary measure of coercion. It is known that in extreme cases they have resorted to the death penalty.

The Chinese community is, therefore, a government within a government. The Six Companies do not defy our laws, but, in the administration of their own, ignore those of the land in which they live. There are, besides the general companies, several societies, guilds or unions, representing different trades and pursuits—such as the Washerman's Guild, an association of Chinese laundrymen, composed of men from all the different six companies; the Hop-Ya-Teng Association, whose principal business has been to stimulate and protect gambling and the woman traffic. There

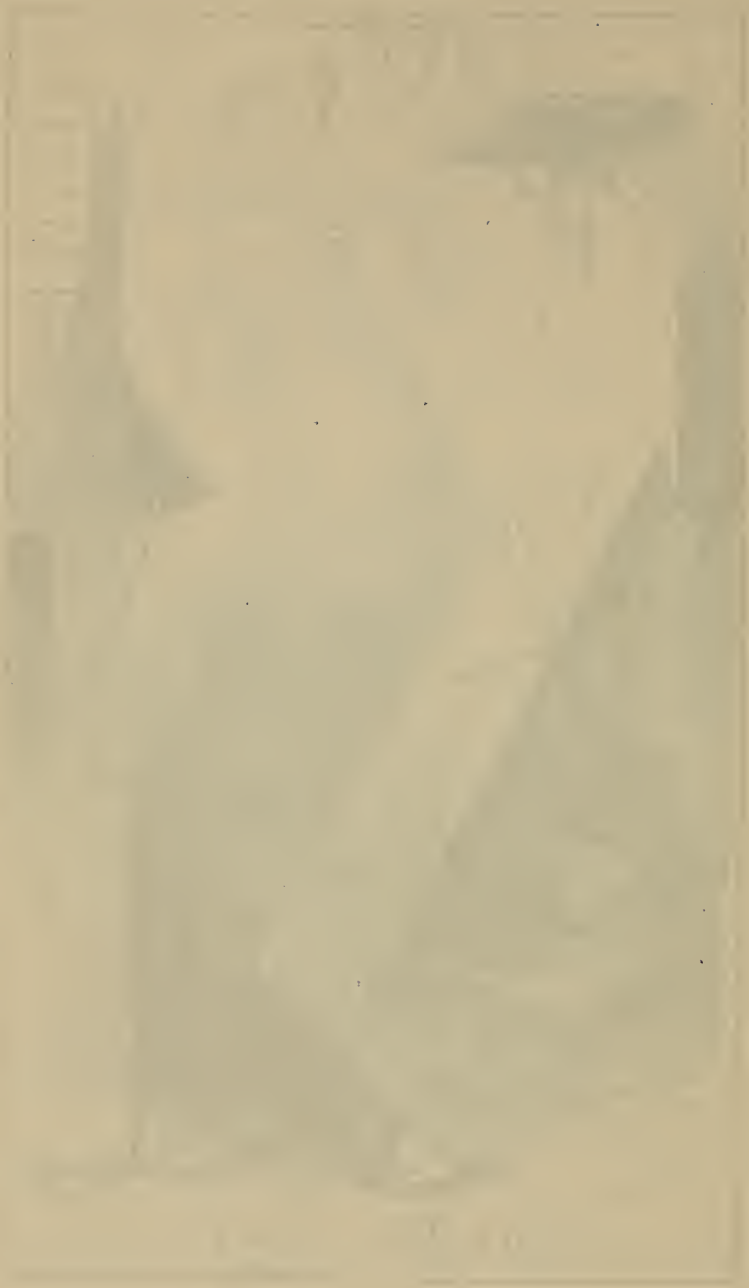
is also the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association. This last has severed all connections with the Six Companies.

CHAPTER IV.

CHINATOWN.

The boundaries of the district in San Francisco known as Chinatown are the south side of Broadway on the north, the south side of Sacramento street on the south, Kearny street on the east, and Stockton street on the west. The streets included, wholly or partially, are: Pacific, Jackson, Washington, Clay and Sacramento from north to south, and Kearny and Stockton, within the limits mentioned, from east to west. Stockton and Kearny are but little affected, though the Chinese rookeries reach up to the finest buildings of each street. Commercial street is partially included within this district; and the portion between Kearny and Dupont is almost wholly given up to Chinese. Waverly place, between Washington and Sacramento, is the abode of white prostitutes, as is Sacramento, between Dupont and Stockton. On Sacramento, below Dupont, are several of the largest

Pettit & Russ S.F.
ST. LOUIS ALLEY



Chinese mercantile houses. The streets and alleys are always thronged with Celestials, and on Sunday they literally swarm. A stranger would readily imagine himself in China rather than in America. Here can be seen the Chinese of both sexes and all ages, their heads shaved and a long braided queue hanging down behind; their peculiar dress—loose coats with large sleeves—and their peculiar-shaped shoes, with felt soles which deaden sound, so that they make no noise when they walk.

They are a great people to gather on the sunny side of a building and sun themselves, or study various placards posted up. These bills are sent from China and posted on arrival of vessels, or printed here, advertising the theatres, lottery games, etc. Their language seems peculiar—a sort of jargon, which strikes the ear unpleasantly. They are very suspicious since there has been so much talk about "the Chinese must go," and watch strangers visiting their "American kingdom" very closely. If they think you are friendly, or from the East, they are very polite and courteous, and willingly give any information in their power. There are about 30,000 to 35,000 Chinese living and doing business in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, but one would be led to believe there was at least 75,000, if he was to visit Chinatown on a Sunday, when the streets are full of pedestrians. Sunday being a day of rest in our country, is taken advantage of by them to visit or walk about. The Christian Chinamen, or those visiting some Chinese Sunday school, have a neater appearance than the others of the lower class.

The Chinese quarter lies in the heart of the old portion of the city, and cuts off the North-Beach property—the residence part—from the business portion of the city. The horse-cars connecting that part of the city with other portions pass through Chinatown. The Chinese first obtained a foothold on Washington street, and wherever they maintain a foothold they crowd everybody else out. They are in other portions of the city—that is, in spots. They have established wash-houses and cigar-shops all over the city.

The Chinese quarter is very filthy. They have in the alleys and around their houses—that is, the lower class—old rags, slop-holes, excrement and vile refuse animal matter. They are compelled by the police to clean up, or they would be buried in their own filth. In some portions of Chinatown they have vaults overflowing with filth. All the business portions within the boundaries described have been absorbed by them. The principal hotels thus taken are the Globe, Mansion, Portsmouth, Washington and St. Francis. The First Baptist Church, on Washington Street, has also fallen into their possession.

John Chinaman undoubtedly is the dirtiest neighbor one can have. Sanitary measures are with him a sealed book; and the filthy habits engendered in youth and matured in manhood, acquired in his own country, have been brought here to the land of his adoption, and have taken such a firm hold that nothing but the most strenuous effort on the part of the authorities can eradicate the evil as it now exists.

Has it ever struck the curious resident to penetrate into the Chinese purlieus? If not, by all means do so,

if only from simple curiosity. To the uninitiated any idea cannot be conveyed of what absolute squalor, filth and depravity these alleys do harbor. No one who has not, from personal observation, seen for himself, can form any judgment as to the manner in which these Mongolians exist. Neither can any reliable data be culled as to how life is maintained in these ant-heaps of iniquity. It may with a good deal of truth be asserted that few have strolled through the Chinese quarter from a sheer love of curiosity; business of one sort or another has necessitated a visit to it; a hasty transaction of affairs and a precipitate retreat are the almost invariable result. The moment you cross the borders of Chinatown you experience a peculiar, strange smell—a sort of combination of opium mixed with tobacco, fish and vegetables, but unlike anything else. You cannot get used to it.

Many of the buildings in Chinatown are of brick, and all are of American architecture. Wherever the Chinese get into a building, they commence to remodel it and change the appearance of the front, putting up queer signs, painting the balconies fanciful colors, and hanging out curious Chinese lanterns. In a few months after they attack it, so to speak, it looks as though it were a hundred years old. The walls become blackened up, filthy, dirty and discolored. This applies, however, to those buildings occupied by the lower class. It must be understood from the start that there are grades of society, the same as among other nations.

Unlike the streets of China, which are narrow and without sidewalks, the streets here are wide, paved, and have sidewalks. This was the fashionable part of San

Francisco in early times. The lanes or alleys only remind one of China. Many of the old frame buildings of earlier days are still standing. Entering Sacramento street at Kearny, we pass their business places, mostly wholesale, and some retail stores as we near Dupont street. The fronts of their shops and stores are covered with signs, on which are gaudily-painted Chinese characters. Some of these, translated into English, are quite a puzzle to the Yankee mind. A druggist's sign translated reads, "The Temple of Heavenly Harmonies." The wholesale houses generally have but the name of the firm over the entrance. The custom of the Chinese is to give to the firm some fanciful phrase instead of the firm name—such phrases as are suggestive of good luck. Some of the smaller dealers have a board placed vertically, edge toward the street, both sides covered with Chinese characters, describing the wares they have on sale. As we enter one of the larger wholesale houses we find, piled up on one side of the front or main store, boxes of tea and bags of rice. On one side is a counter, seated behind which are one or two salesmen, and the keeper of accounts. The shelves on the same side are filled with various articles of merchandise in the way of clothing, etc. Seated about are some of their customers, or friends, dropped in to chat over the news or make purchases. They are never in a hurry, as they do everything in a methodical way. They are very polite to visitors, offering a seat, and when seated bringing a cup of tea, together with a cigar. This is their invariable custom. Sometimes some kind of wine or liquor is offered. These stores are clean, and everything has a business aspect.

We next visit a workshop, where Chinamen are engaged in the manufacture of overalls and jumpers for the miners. This class of manufacture is almost wholly done by the Chinese. There are also manufacturers of men's suits, shirts and underwear. The manufacture of ladies' underwear is also largely engaged in.

We turn into Dupont street, with its long line of stores. On Dupont street is the St. Francis lodging-house (four stories), once a noted lodging-house for Europeans. The old sign of "Furnished Rooms to Let, by the Day, Week or Month," is still visible. In this and other lodging-houses in the vicinity they live packed like sardines in a box. They live even in the cellars under the sidewalks, and dig down into the ground and make rooms. In the garrets on the roofs they build apartments, and on the balconies they fence or board in rooms. They will partition off a double room, build bunks for sleeping on the sides, and lie down on the floor also. At 819 Dupont street we pass the tin-shop of San Yum & Co. Here all kinds of tin and sheet-iron work are done. The machinery used is almost entirely of Yankee make, and the articles manufactured are also of Yankee pattern. This branch of trade has been learned of Americans. As we continue our way down Dupont street, we pass all kinds of stores, restaurants, pawn-shops, etc. Arriving at the corner of Jackson and Dupont streets, we come to the old Globe Hotel, and will take a look inside.

Situated at the corner of Jackson and Dupont streets stands a large, leaden-colored building of four stories. Its wide portals were wont to admit with hearty welcome the hopeful traveler on first landing on these

golden shores; its narrow passages teemed with the bustle of hurrying porters and busy lodgers, while in its spacious rooms were assembled white men from the civilized world, who had hied thither at the prospect of certain wealth. How many a young, fresh spirit has bade but a passing farewell to its pleasant reminiscences, never again to return from the mining country! How many a buoyant youth, full of courage, vigor and hope, has quit the father of the Palace and the Baldwin hotels to seek his fortune in what was then an undiscovered country, never again to set eyes upon its lavish embellishments and luxurious surroundings! Such was the Globe Hotel, which many pioneers may remember. The Globe Hotel of to-day bears nothing but its name to remind one of its former grandeur—nay, of its former use. To be sure, the spiral staircase and dome of colored glass still remain; but, alas and alack-a-day! time and Chinese occupation have not added to their appearance. The entrance hall is as filthy as filthy can be. In a nook on its left-hand side is a small store, where a single shopman sells to customers from an assortment of slippers, Chinese ink and opium pipes. Surmounting his door is a tablet, on which are elaborately-carved gilded characters, bearing some mythical appositeness to his trade; but all his wares are woefully begrimed with dust and dirt. The stairs show marks of late garnishing, but not sufficient to hide the substratum of firm clay which has concreted beneath, while the small red placards on each room door, though lending a thoroughly Eastern character to the place, cannot disabuse the mind that within lies imbedded the germs of fell disease and death.

On the first story the rooms are seventeen in number, having an average size of 15x9 feet. In many of them space is economized by the fixing of a bunk seven feet from the flooring, where the entire family sleep, using the space underneath as a living room, in which are stored not only all the necessaries of Chinese life, but nearly all which come under the category of luxuries. Fish, flesh and fowl are here to be seen, lying side by side, in reckless confusion, with pickled cabbages, string-beans and lumps of charcoal. In one corner stands the cook of the party, cunningly devising some delectable dish for the next repast of his master, while on the outside of the door, in a small iron brazier, are blazing a couple of fires, in such close proximity to the partition walls that if seen by an insurance agent, he would weep and gnash his teeth. But it is not alone at one door that the braziers are found, for we have them at every entry on each story, and in hazardous closeness to the wood-work, which has now become of a dingy, dark color from its influence. How the laths have escaped ignition is a mystery. On the first story, too, in the very heart of this den of filth, are two rooms used as a school by a white lady. Such a practice as opening a school in such a place cannot be too strongly deprecated. It would seem this lady, however laudable her object may be, wantonly brings a herd of Mongolians together in their very lair, and afterward walks abroad in our streets, coming hither and going thither, and thus disseminating whatever contagious germs these unclean celestials may carry about with them, and which she must of necessity share by contact.

The landing on each flight of the staircase is the duplicate of that below, until the attic is reached, and here are dark rooms, smaller in size, and darker passages, but with no improvement in regard to cleanliness, for at every turn we have the usual heaps of sweepings, the accumulation of several weeks, while a strong need is felt for the use of some vigorous disinfectant. Cleanliness may be akin to godliness in Western minds, but it certainly is not so with the meek-eyed Mongolian, for in the heart of this den of filth John has converted a suite of apartments into a joss-house, with the necessary guest-chambers on each side of the shrine. In these congregate the birds of passage, to tell stories, relate experiences, or gamble, as best suits the whim of the hour, while in close contiguity are opium-lounges, on which lie at their ease men in all the different stages of narcotic influence.

The cellars of the Globe Hotel are occupied by tradesmen of different stamps, whose front shops are fair enough to look upon, but in the two rooms behind what a change do we find! No light, no ventilation; the fumes of opium, the gases from the decayed vegetable matter, all strive for pre-eminence, while the heat underneath the ground is next to unbearable. Here it is that the virulent stroke of an epidemic will first take its hold. A lack of ventilation, with putrid water and stifling gases will foster disease, and should such a scourge as cholera or typhoid fever once take root in these hotbeds of sickness, dire will be the consequences. By the merest chance the carelessness of the occupants of this heathen-warren, by burning their fires at their thresholds, have made for themselves a purifier of the

atmosphere within; but it is a question for mature reflection as to which of the two ills is the worse, the sweeping hand of disease, or the hotter tongue of flame! Not only should the Sam Yup Company, who are the lessees of the building, be warned of the double danger to the citizens which they engender, by permitting such practices, but the proprietor of the property should be made to feel that the law is strong, and will enforce by severe punishment all practices which are in contravention to its tenets.

The Globe Hotel is one of many buildings, and the characteristics of one pervade all.

The locality described lies principally between the streets of Kearny and Stockton, Washington and Pacific. It may spread somewhat northward of Pacific, as in the instance of Ellick Alley; but the main rookery is certainly between the streets named. On Clay, Commercial and Sacramento streets the buildings are principally occupied by Chinamen, but in very few cases, with the exception of the Portsmouth House, are there lodging-houses in which overcrowding predominates. Nearly all the tenements are devoted to trade, and belong to the richer portion of the Chinese community. The principal danger of disease and fire is at present confined to the boundaries mentioned. There the germs of disease are produced by decay of animal and vegetable matter, and the air robbed of its oxygen by the exhalations of the withered inhabitants who are forced to breathe over and over again the air expelled from their own and fellow-roomers' lungs. This produces any amount of carbonic acid and other poisonous gases, which are, happily, dispensed by the fresh sea air be-

fore they have vitiated the lung-food of the entire city.

Open fires, lit in braziers and placed against greasy and dry walls constructed of the most inflammable material, are as numerous in the various lodging-houses as the rooms; in fact, it is the custom in the Globe Hotel to do all cooking upon these improvised stoves. Chinatown should be thoroughly overhauled in every manner, and when the public really know, from an official source, that the danger of fire and disease exists in their midst, even beyond the extent exposed by the press and writers, then and then only will a true estimate be formed of this terrible Chinese plague. The legislators at Washington may turn a deaf ear to the cry of the people; their trouble may even be jeered at by the dwellers in the Eastern States; but a voice will be heard—the voice of a mighty people, gathered from all civilized nations—which will cause such measures to be taken that California shall no longer be a prey to Chinese hordes.

As to the habits of the Chinese: they bathe their persons often in warm weather—it is the custom at the end of a day's work to take a bath from a little bucket of warm water; they will not bathe in cold water; their clothing is frequently washed; they often wash their feet and legs in the same bucket they bring water for drinking and cooking purposes in. The street peculiarities of the quarter are typical of its Mongolian character. The predominating colors which greet the eye are red and gilt, most of the signs and insignia of business consisting of bright red letters. These signs read vertically instead of horizontally, frequently extending from the lintel to the

threshold of the door. The sidewalks on either side are crowded with stalls for the sale of fruit, sweetmeats, and a thousand articles familiar only to the Mongolian appetite and taste. In a space not two feet wide and three feet long, a cobbler finds room on the sidewalk to carry on his trade. Every nook and irregularity between doors, and flanking entrances to basements, is occupied by cobblers, tinkers, razor-sharpeners, fruit-sellers and other curbstone merchants. During the evening the leading streets of the quarter are more thronged and crowded by pedestrians than any other portion of the city; yet they seem to wire in and wire out of each other's way without collision. The theaters, the restaurants, the joss-houses, and some other buildings, are fancifully decorated and illuminated on their balconies and upper stories during the evening, and Chinese lanterns of all sizes and shapes flutter and flicker in front of all public places. In some parts of Chinatown through which we have passed are underground cellars, where the poorest and vilest Chinese lodge, presenting a most wretched and revolting sight. But we must remember that there are grades in Chinese life as there are in all nations of people.

In his habits of living the Chinaman is exceedingly economical. Throughout central and southern China rice is the principal staple of food. Rice and vegetables, fish, pork and fowls compose the principal diet of the people. The cost of living is small as compared with the cost of living of the average American. The average Chinaman can live for from seven to fifteen cents a day. That will give him all the rice and vegetables he can eat, with a small allowance for fish or

meat daily. In China the cost of labor corresponds with the cheapness of living. The currency is adapted to the cheap rate of living and low price of labor. The currency used is a brass "cash," about the size of a twenty-cent piece, quite thin, with a square hole through the center. These are strung together in hundreds, and the hundreds tied in pairs, and sold in packages of four hundred, six hundred, eight hundred, and one thousand. A Mexican silver dollar is worth about one thousand "cashes," so that a single brass cash is about the value of one mill of our money. Mexican dollars and American trade-dollars are also in circulation; but before long in circulation they become what is known as "chop"-dollars. With a cold-chisel each banker punches his name or stamp on the face, and the process, often repeated, soon covers it with Chinese letters, until not a letter of the original superscription can be seen. The banks, changing brass cash for silver dollars, take the dollars by weight, not by count. They are exceedingly expert in detecting counterfeit coin. In large mercantile transactions payments are made in sycu—that is, in bars, lumps, or masses of silver, by weight, bearing the stamp of the house issuing it. There is a custom prevailing among them in financial matters: that of squaring accounts at the close of each year. The rule is that debts must all be paid at that time, or mutual arrangements made to continue the account.

CHAPTER V.

CHINESE MERCHANTS.

The Chinese merchants are divided into classes—wholesale and retail merchants. For many years their trade was confined to supplying the wants of their countrymen in California, but by degrees they found customers among the whites. Many Chinamen who come under the general name of merchants are also manufacturers, contractors and business agents. They show a great deal of executive ability, and as a class sustain a good reputation for honesty and reliability. A contractor will, for instance, engage to construct a levee, and the parties contracting with him may rely upon its being completed in a given time. They have a very correct idea of the value of reputation. As a rule the word of a reputable Chinese merchant is as good as his bond. They seem to comprehend that in a country to which they are strangers a good record as a class is essential to success in business. The wholesale merchants are, with few exceptions, located on Sacramento and Commercial streets, between Dupont and Kearny. Several of the large cigar and shoe manufacturers are below Montgomery, on the two streets mentioned, and on Clay street. Merchants deal in rice, tea, preserved fruits, drugs, and general supplies. Many have become wealthy from small beginnings. With few exceptions little capital has been brought here for investment. They are well educated—at least as far as business requires them to be—quick at figures, and good mathematicians. There are about two thousand Chinese who are classed as merchants. The

wholesale merchants are of a comparatively high order of their countrymen. Their stores are kept very clean; their goods are arranged on shelves, or piled up neatly on one side of the store, in basements or rear rooms. A counter runs along one side of the store, and an office is partitioned off in the rear. The following merchants are members of the Merchants' Exchange of San Francisco:

Kwong Tic Chong, 719 Commercial street.
Kwong Tong Tai, 714 Sacramento street.
Kwong On Chong, 728 Sacramento street.
Kwong Sung Wo, 640 Washington street.
Kwong Lung Chung, 733 Commercial street.
Lai Hing Lung, 729 Commercial street.
Quong Sun Tai Kee, 717 Commercial street.
Quong Yin Kee, 718 Commercial street.
Lun Sing, 706 Sacramento street.
Shun Yeuen & Co., 839 Dupont street.
Sang Lung, 836 Dupont street.
Sing Kee, 712 Commercial street.
Sing Chong Wo, 715 Sacramento street.
Tong Wo, 722 Sacramento street.
Tong Tie, 730 Sacramento street.
Tong Sing, 732 Sacramento street.
Tong Yung & Co., 736 Sacramento street.
Tuck Chong, 739 Sacramento street.
Tai Yuen Chong, 721 Commercial street.
Wo Kee, 939 Dupont street.
Wing Wo Sang, 720 Sacramento street.
Wing Tai Jau, 734 Sacramento street.
Yee Hing, 714 Commercial street.
Yu Wo, 1022 Dupont street.

The Chinese merchants mingle with Americans, and do business with them, but assimilate with them no more than the lower classes. They retain their own civilization and habits of life. They freely admit the enterprise and mechanical genius of the American people, but hold fast to their own habits and methods of business. They do their banking business through American houses, by draft or check. They buy silver in the form of Mexican or trade dollars, which they ship themselves. But they purchase their drafts at our banks. They are fast taking possession of the trade of the Chinese ports that are open to foreigners. In the interior, up the Yang-tze River, at the ports of Chin-Kiang and Hankow, the Chinese have almost driven out foreigners. It is thus apparent that while the Chinese merchant can establish himself in our own country, the American merchant to a like extent cannot control trade in China. Their residence here enables them to acquire the knowledge of our markets which for a time gave American merchants in China an advantage over Chinese engaged in the American trade.

A Chinese firm will do a business which they have mastered, at a lower percentage of expense than an American firm. The high salaries which American firms pay to employees in positions of responsibility are unknown to Chinese merchants. Their customs hold their employees to a more strict account, and consequently losses through defalcations are rare.

CHAPTER VI.

CHINESE MANUFACTURES.

The number of Chinese engaged in manufacturing pursuits is not far from 10,000. In the principal branches they are divided as follows: Clothing (including the manufacture of shirts, overalls, etc.), 3,250; cigars, 2,800; boots and shoes, 2,000; slippers, 1,000; in the woolen-mills, 700; matches, 150; making white shirts, 100; tanneries, 400. These are exclusive of occupations that cannot be classed as manufacturers—such as house-servants, laundrymen, peddlers, ragpickers, and attendants in restaurants, joss-houses, etc.

CLOTHING.

The articles of wear manufactured by the Chinese are of the coarser and cheaper varieties. They seize readily upon American labor-saving machinery, and apply to it their capacity to drudge, to live cheaply, to thrive in dark and ill-ventilated rooms, to save expense in every possible way. It is in this department that they come in direct and ruinous competition with white sewing-women. Formerly a woman who was expert with a sewing-machine would earn twelve or fifteen dollars a week. The Chinese have reduced their wages to five or six dollars. A glance at a Chinese workshop explains readily why white women can compete with them only in kinds of work requiring exceptional skill and taste. The Chinese often work in a tenement-room where the atmosphere is damp and

daylight dim. Their sewing-machines are ranged along in rows as closely as they can stand. The operators work steadily from twelve to fifteen hours, and turn off an immense amount of work. The white woman wants room and air and light. She cannot endure the hardship the Chinese seem to thrive upon. Dealers in the articles made by Chinese are of course compelled to employ those who can do the most work for a given sum of money. The wages of white women have thus been cut down below living rates by this ruinous competition, until they were compelled to abandon the branches of manufacture which the Chinese could acquire. It is urged that by their aid we have succeeded in manufacturing goods that were formerly imported from abroad. This is true to an extent, but the advantage is not apparent, in view of the fact that the wages paid the Chinese are shipped to China as fast as earned.

BOOTS AND SHOES.

Formerly boots and shoes were brought here entirely and exclusively from Philadelphia and Massachusetts, but since the establishment of boot and shoe factories, the quantity brought here has diminished considerably. The Chinese manufacture all kinds of ladies and gentlemen's boots and shoes, gaiters and slippers, fine and coarse work.

The methods which enable the Chinese to drive out white labor in manufacturing clothing are applied also to the manufacture of boots and shoes. They use all the labor-saving machinery known to Americans, and nearly as expertly as Americans. At first the Chinese competed only with the workmen. As soon, however,

as he had acquired a knowledge of the business, he set up for himself, and gradually worked into all branches of the trade. The Chinese manufacturer has a certain advantage over his American competitor, from the fact that he can contract with workmen to better advantage. The Chinese, by forming combinations among themselves, force white manufacturers to employ them. They club their means together and start on a small scale. Content with small profits, and having no incumbrances in the way of families, they can always undersell the white manufacturer. It was shown the Joint Special Committee of Inquiry that thousands of women had been driven out of employment by the Chinese.

CIGAR-MAKING.

This is another branch of business which the Chinese have largely taken possession of. Ten years ago most of the cigars used on this coast were imported from Havana or Manila, or brought from New York. It is estimated that two-thirds of the cigars now consumed in this city are manufactured here. The business began by the establishment of small shops by white men, but gradually the business passed largely into the hands of the Chinese. Probably if the persons who habitually smoke Chinese cigars could witness the process of their manufacture, they would quit smoking. A white cigar-maker testified before the Joint Special Committee that it was a common thing for Chinese cigar-makers to use tobacco-cuttings to perform the services of a towel or pocket-handkerchief. Manufacturing is controlled under a worse system than at the East. The system is worse, because "John" will make

CIGAR FACTORY

anything to shove on the market. They make far inferior preparations to the workmen here, and it gives the white men no chance. Where in the East a shop is fit for only twenty men to work in, they work one hundred to one hundred and fifty Chinamen here. Hence they have not the facility for drying the tobacco and preparing it. If the same system was adopted here as in the East, the white men would make almost double what the Chinamen get. Cigars, as a general thing, are dearer here than in the East—that is, fair goods.

Chinese cheap labor does not benefit the consumer so far as cigar-making is concerned. There is one class of goods that affects the retailer—it is this: very cheap, inferior goods, such as white men throw away, the Chinamen pick up and work up, and put on the market here, cigar stumps, anything containing tobacco, whether it is moldy, rotten, or anything else. The Chinamen manufacture by apprentices. Where the Chinese cigar-makers are controlled by white men, they are fairly clean, but where they work by themselves their habits are simply disgusting. One thing they practically do, is to take a cigar in their mouth and put spit on it, in order to get the shine on it—what is called a Chinese polish. The using of spittle on cigars is peculiarly a Chinese creation. Plenty of good white men would come here gladly, if they could get work. The Trades Union reported, in 1878, over three thousand cigar-makers idle in New York city.

CHAPTER VII.

CHINESE MINERS.

As early as 1853 the attention of prominent miners was called to the fact that the employment of Chinese in the mines was detrimental to the business. At that period the wages of white men were comparatively high, and frequently ground was vacated that would pay three or four dollars a day. The Chinese came and took possession of such ground. In some cases they purchased a title of white men, and in others took what white men left. Although these claims were not considered worth a white man's time in 1852-3-4, the time soon came when white men were glad to secure such ground. But the Chinese had exhausted this description of mines to a great extent, and the gold they had taken out was in China. They engaged largely in wing-dam and river-bed mining, and eventually went extensively into hydraulic mining. The general average of their wages was so high that large numbers of miners spread themselves over the State from north to south. In consequence of this influx of Chinese, American mining towns fell into rapid decay. Many worked on contracts made in China, thus giving the employer of Chinese a great advantage over the employer of American labor. Many white men made a business of locating claims and selling them to Chinese. Possibly a few men made money by these transactions, but the general effect of Chinese occupation was disastrous. Many towns that had been prosperous

while white men did the work, fell into decay, while more work has been done in their vicinity by Chinese than ever had been done by white men. In the interior towns, or in the cities, the Chinese were not patrons of white business houses. Every mining town had its Chinese quarter, centrally located, with traders who supplied all their wants. Placer county was noted for the extent of its surface mines, which would pay from two to four dollars a day. The Chinamen settled in this county in large numbers, and by purchase and location got possession of much ground that was comparatively poor, but which became valuable as the rates of labor depreciated. In Auburn, as early as 1855, there was a large Chinese quarter, and the smaller towns in that county were similarly infested. It has been said that the Chinese were content to take what the white men left, or were willing to purchase what white men considered of little value; but the fact remains that they took millions of dollars out of the ground, which white men would have taken out two or three years later, if the Chinese had not been permitted to work in the mines. They added nothing in the end to the total yield of the mines; but the portion they took out was so much wealth lost to this country. In the Congressional investigation on the effect of Chinese immigration, of 1876, to which frequent reference has been made, great stress was laid on the fact that the Chinese, as a rule, worked mines that white men had abandoned. Some of the Joint Committee seemed to be impressed with the idea that because, in the infancy of the mining business, adventurous white men left small-paying claims to search for

better ones, the ground abandoned was lost to the American miner, and might as well be worked by the Chinese as not. The folly of this proposition becomes apparent when we remember that wages were adjusted in a rapidly sliding scale in these early days. That which was worthless one year became valuable the next. In '49 and '50 men would leave ten dollars a day to prospect for something better. In 1852 five dollars a day was considered good "diggings." Two or three years later men hesitated to leave three dollars a day. It follows that what was valueless one year became of value a year or two later; but in the meantime "John" had stepped in and taken possession. He has added nothing to the aggregate yield of our mines, but has diverted many millions from the country. There never has been such a thing as abandoned "diggings." At most they were only temporarily abandoned. The mine deserted one year was eagerly sought the next.

CHAPTER VIII.

VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS.

It would be easier to enumerate the occupations in which the Chinese are not engaged than those in which they are. Their handiwork is seen everywhere. A man who should undertake to live, without directly or indirectly contributing to the employment of Chinese, would have a hard time of it. If he should step into a restaurant to get his dinner, he might find white waiters, white cooks—but the chances are, ten to one, that every vegetable he might order would be the product of Chinese labor. The delicious strawberry, which is plenty in our market nine or ten months in the year, are largely picked by Chinamen. Canned fruit is another of their industries. They not only raise all sorts of vegetables, but deliver them to customers in the city. If our anti-Chinese friend should decline to avail himself of John's services, as laundryman, he would pay a little more to a white man or woman who would employ a number of Chinese as assistants. If he steps into a saloon for liquid refreshment, he will find a white man behind the bar; but when the lunch comes in "John" will come with it. In the morning, when the saloon is mopped out and put in order for the day, John has charge of the job. It must be admitted that he is a good servant. It might not be well to place him in charge of the money drawer; but if that is locked, he is too prudent to break into it He performs his work quietly, is cheer-

ful and inoffensive, and can be relied on on election day. The hardest places he finds are infinitely preferable to his lot in his mother country, and he makes up his mind to take things as they come, certain that nothing can be so bad as the life he left behind. We will take a look at John in his workshop. On Jackson street are several manufacturing jewelers, who employ each from six to twelve men making finger rings, hairpins, earrings, bracelets, and other Chinese ornaments. Let us enter 718 Jackson street. The sign, translated, means "hand-craft." They make all kinds of jewelry; gold is worked fine, without alloy, from eighteen to twenty-four karats. They make no poor jewelry, all the women wear jewelry; even small girls wear ornaments of gold. The jewelry worn is earrings, rings, bracelets and hairpins of gold, and anklets of silver and jade stone. The jade stone is very valuable, and is of a pale greenish blue, and light and dark green. Its value is tested by a magnifying glass. All gold work is forged from the solid lump. It is melted by aid of a blow-pipe, and fire made by nut oil, in an open saucer in which are the wicks, that look like vermicelli. The nut oil is burned altogether for lights in front of their Gods, or Joss, and in lamps used by the opium smokers. At 706 Jackson street is a grocery store kept by white men, whose trade is almost exclusively Chinese. Passing up Jackson street towards Stockton street, we come to a restaurant. It is a three-storied building, with balconies on the second and third stories, gaily painted with deep green, and trimmed with red. A profusion of Chinese lanterns, suspended from these balconies, gives the place an Oriental ap-

pearance. This is a veritable Chinese restaurant. Like Americans in San Francisco, many Chinamen board in restaurants. The merchants usually keep a cook, and have a small kitchen in the rear of their stores, and use the principal store-room for a dining-room; but they all go to the restaurant occasionally, and especially for a party or club dinner. Thousands of the common people live constantly in them, while another class, still lower, cook in braziers and open fires, and live any way. There are a large number of cheap restaurants located in cellars, and one on Clay street, between Dupont and Kearny streets, furnishes meals from five to ten cents each, for which they get tea, pork and rice. At night the tables are placed together on one side or the room, and a piece of matting placed on and under them, and they are rented out at from five to ten cents for lodging—five cents under, and ten cents on top of the tables. The covering consists of a quilted spread. The first-class restaurants are quite pretentious, and respectable in appointments. The one, at 710 Jackson street, is one of the best; on the lower, or ground floor, is where the cooking is done. In front, to the right as you enter, is the cashier's counter; in front, the proprietors and bookkeeper's. You pass on through to the rear room, where are long ranges, on which are dishes filled with various articles cooking; everything looks clean and neat. For the first time, you are rid of the peculiar Chinese smell. The Chinese cooking is more like the French than the English. They are fond of cutting everything up fine, and mixing different articles together. Their meats are usually well cooked, and some of their pastry is

light, though not generally so. Many of their dishes are unpalatable to Americans, as they use rancid oil and strong butter.

The principal dishes are prepared and placed on the table within reach of all. Then each one drives his own chopsticks into the common dish, and carries a piece to his mouth. This requires considerable skill and practice. If one gets a bone in his mouth, after getting all the meat off, he spits it out on the floor. The Chinamen often "chip" in and have a social dinner, each one paying his share. This restaurant also keeps knives and forks, plates, table-cloths and napkins, and can, on due notice, get up an American dinner, as explained by the following card:

TUNE FONG,
BANQUET SALOON,
710 JACKSON STREET,
Between Dupont and Stockton.
Meals cooked to order.

Plain living in a common restaurant can be had by a Chinaman for six to eight dollars per month; good living from ten to twenty dollars, according to the taste and purse of the boarders. The upper, or top floor, is handsomely furnished; there is room to sit and chat and play dominoes, off from the balcony. The furniture, such as tables, chairs and stools, are all made of hard wood, polished and elaborately carved. The chairs and stools brought from China. The utensils are of the best. The ornaments elaborate, carved ivory and jet, from China. In a rear room, at the back, is their Joss;

on each side are raised platforms, or dais, under a canopy, provided with pipes and pillows for the use of opium-smokers. The pastry room and store-room is in the rear of the eating-room below. They have a head cook and steward. Close by is the pork and provision store of Tuck Wo, corner of Washington alley and Jackson. On Jackson, between Dupont and Kearny streets, are their principal meat stores—Washington alley being their market place, so to speak. Tuck Wo is the principal pork dealer; he buys large quantities on the foot, and butchers and sells wholesale to dealers, supplying white butchers as well as Chinese.

We will now take a look in Washington alley. It is a wide alley, running from Jackson to Washington streets, and between Dupont and Stockton streets. It is filled on the west side with stalls, or small stores, for sale of chickens, geese and ducks, kept in crates made of lath. These dealers also sell dried fowls, split open, cleaned, dried and varnished; oysters on sticks, dried, and other preserved meats and fruit. On the east side are several gambling-houses and a pawn-shop. We will take a peep at our Chinese "uncle."

PAWN-SHOP.

It is a small room, the front fenced or partitioned off by round wooden bars running from the floor to the ceiling, a square hole in the center, a screen in front, behind which passes the customer, so he is not seen from the street. Behind the bars sits the pawn-broker. The article is passed in and appraised by an attendant, and the loan made. They deal very liberally, giving over two-thirds the value. They charge about one-

half of one per cent. a month interest. The articles are kept one year. They are wrapped up, labeled and laid away; the heavier articles on shelves, and the lighter and more valuable articles are put in safes. Tickets are given the same as by American pawnbrokers. All kinds of weapons are to be seen here—double-bladed and two-edged knives, pistols, slungshots, and other murderous weapons used by Highbinders. At the corner of Washington alley and Washington street is a barber-shop. Let us watch the putting through of one of the "next in turn." The man sits in a common chair, with a back. The head and face are washed in warm water, but no lather used. The head is shaved, the face is shaved, the forehead is shaved, the ears are scraped, and the queue is braided. If a Caucasian should shave his face in that way, it would soon be covered with bristles. But the Chinamen are not much given to beard. It is not the custom in China for a man under forty to let his beard grow. Great attention is paid the queue, or "pigtail," as it is often called in derision. This is nicely combed and braided, and left with a silk tassel at the end. The queue is often in the way; workmen uniformly twist it around the head. This shaving of the head and braiding of the queue is a very singular custom, and such is the power of custom and prejudice that a Chinaman loses caste and is tabooed by his countrymen should he cut it off and adopt our style of wearing the hair. This shaving the head and wearing the queue is not, as many people suppose, a religious custom at all. The custom has not changed in the last

BARBER SHOP

generation. Shum Chi, the first Emperor of the present Tartar dynasty, who came to the throne A. D. 1644, issued a proclamation requiring all the people to adopt the Tartar custom of shaving the front of the head, and braiding the rest of the hair into a queue, as a sign of submission. The penalty of non-compliance was the loss of their heads.

HOUSE SERVANTS.

The number of Chinese employed in San Francisco as house servants is variously estimated at from five thousand to seven thousand. Testimony was given before the Joint Committee that their wages were about the same as those paid white servants; but it would not be difficult to establish the fact that they will accept place for enough less to secure the places. Their policy is to get as much as possible, but not to lose a good place. Their principal characteristic as servants is to keep one place until they can do better. For instance, a new-comer will commence at a mere nominal sum, perhaps as low as a dollar a week. His mistress teaches him his business, under the impression that when he is taught she will have a good servant at moderate wages. He raises his demands from time to time, until he has reached the limit of that household. Then he pretends to be summoned away, but recommends a cousin, whom he represents as more competent than himself. The cousin comes, and the mistress finds another learner on her hands. This experience is repeated indefinitely. Families who can afford to pay about $20 per month, and keep two or three servants, have no trouble in retaining their serv-

ants. As a rule, they are only attached to a household through motives of self-interest. Their honesty is measured by the same rule. When honesty is clearly the best policy, they are honest.

CHAPTER IX.

CHINESE THEATRES.

There are three Chinese theatres in San Francisco —one at the corner of Washington street and Church alley, and two are on Jackson street, between Dupont and Kearny; one of these Jackson-street theatres bears the sounding name of "The Royal China Theatre;" the other is called the Lung Look Theatre. The three are much alike in their main features. Like the theatres of outside barbarians, they have a dress circle and parquette. They are capable of holding 1,500 people, sandwiched in after the Chinese fashion; but, unlike their Caucasian rivals, do not make a distinction in the price of admission. To the left of the dress circle are private boxes, barren of decoration; on the opposite side is a small gallery for the women, separated by a small partition from the seats of the sterner sex in the dress circle. These are also barren of upholstery or curtains. The audience wear their hats throughout the performance, and generally sit on

THE THEATRE

the backs of their seats, instead of on the benches. Smoking and eating are indulged in, and venders of fruit and candy pass around among the audience constantly. Running in and out during the play is a common occurrence. The audience never applaud; occasionally a half-suppressed murmur of satisfaction, and sometimes a hearty laugh is indulged in. The stage is an elevated platform, with two doors at the rear through which the exits and entrances are made. There is no drop curtain or scenes. The orchestra is situated at the rear of the stage, between the two entrances, and keep steadily hammering during the entire performance. The orchestra generally consists of a musician, who handles a mammoth pair of cymbals, a fellow who rattles away on a gong with two sticks, a clarionet player, a guitar player, and a scraper of catgut, or Prof. of the Chinese fiddle. Actors and attachees sit on either side of the stage, smoking or eating candy, and, at times, crossing the stage while the play is going on. The price of admission is four bits (50 cents) and two bits (25 cents). When the play is half over, one bit only is charged. The Chinese theatricals never do much dancing, but display rare skill in acrobatic feats and jugglery. The Chinese are great theatre-goers, and seem to enjoy it hugely, especially comedies, or what we suppose to be comedy. The plays generally represent some historical event. Chinese actors get from $250 to $1,800 a year salary, with an allowance of opium, rice and tea. Each actor is also furnished with a room and the necessary furniture. When one of the characters falls killed in the play, one of the supes comes on and

places a block of wood under his head, and he lies in this position until the scene ends, when he gets up and walks off, in sight of the audience. There are no women who play; but men are employed who can act as women on the stage. The author, in company with Miss Fanny Morant, the well-known society actress, and her husband, Chas. Smith, Esq., visited the Ling Look Theatre, on Jackson street, during her last visit to California, when she played in "Mother and Son" at the California Theatre. The play on the evening of our visit was evidently a comedy—and a long one. We arrived at eight o'clock, and remained until twelve, midnight, and the play was not over. We learned it would finish in about two weeks. Some of their historical plays run for six months. Some of the costumes are rich in material, and elegant in design and embroidery. Some are grotesque—others hideous. The play the night of our visit was a one-act play of the society order. A rich young fellow—a sort of "masher"—is in love with a young lady, and calls at the house and holds a long confab with the old lady—the fair one's mother—which is listened to by another female (all their females, the reader must understand, are of the Ernest Linden style). The daughter and the servant girl, who is the confidant of the two lovers, and who carries messages back and forth, and is made love to by the aforesaid lover, and takes a message from his house, where he is supposed to be sitting on two chairs. The scenes are changed by the property man walking on and off, rearranging the chairs. In one scene the lover is supposed to be looking out of his window-frame on the chairs, and sees the serv-

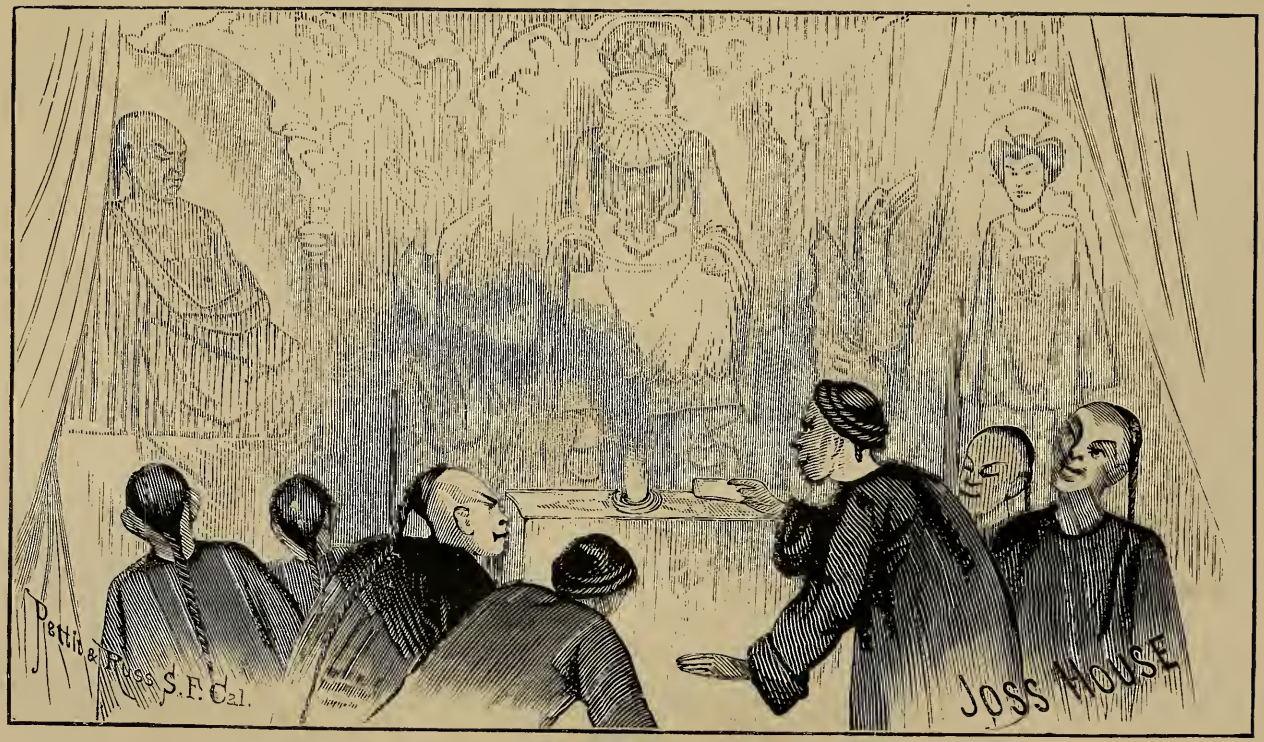
ant girl coming with the young lady. The servant carries a lantern on a stick, unlit, but supposed to be lighted all the same. The scene changes to the interior of his house. This is done by moving the two chairs. Then, after singing in high treble awhile and groping around in the dark, they get together, and after a good deal of billing and cooing, they go behind a screen and make love, are discovered by a third person—exit. Scene changes. The mother hunting for her daughter; the lover comes to seek her. Some hideous chaps come on and hold a pow-wow. A good deal of palaver is gone over, dresses changed several times, and processions marching on and off, evidently fixing it all up. One time a row seemed imminent; when a big, richly-dressed chap waltzed in at this critical moment and poured oil on the troubled waters, by a sorry Chinese fashion. After this, the leading man, who was the James O'Neil of the play, advanced to where the footlights ought to have been, and fairly electrified the moon-eyed audience, and then awaited the grand entree of a procession of nobles and retainers. The special officer, Mr. Jennings, procured us an interpreter, but his explanation left us still in the dark as to what it was all about, and after sitting four hours we concluded we had enough of the Chinese society drama. The management are very careful and watchful to prevent fire, special officers and watchmen being constantly on duty. The general character of the performance indicates the correspondingly small value the Chinese place upon time. Several evenings will be devoted to a play which on the American or European stage would be crowded into three hours. The

actors go into all the details and long dialogues, without action, and are listened to with delight by the patient audience.

CHAPTER X.

CHURCHES AND JOSS-HOUSES.

Across the street from the Ling Look Theatre is the Methodist chapel, established by the Rev. Otis Gibson. Over the door are painted Chinese characters, and over the window is painted in black letters "Foke Sum Tong," and below, "Methodist Chapel." The room was once used as a store, and has been fitted up as a chapel. Hung on the walls are scriptural quotations in Chinese characters. The room will scarcely hold one hundred persons. Benches are ranged along the center of the room in rows. In the rear of this room is another room, used as a schoolroom for Chinese children. On the platform is a small organ. The preacher holds forth in the Chinese language. Chan Pak Kwai, who lately went east on a lecture tour, once presided here. The present preacher is Lan Hok Hau, who was once an inveterate opium-smoker, and one of the musicians at one of the theatres, but was converted by the Methodist Mission. Meetings are held twice a day—afternoon and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JOSS HOUSE

evening. There has been much discussion as to the real success attending the work of Christianizing the Chinese. Many sincere men are engaged in imparting both secular and religious instruction, and they claim a number of converts. It is a question if a large portion of those pretending to be converted have experienced that lively faith which will sustain them after the religious influence by which they are now surrounded is withdrawn. The Chinese have a lively sense of favors to come. They understand very well the advantages of an English education, and of such association as they form at church. But no people are so wedded as they to their own religion, and their code of morals is not so strict as to condemn them for giving a nominal adherence to another form of religion, if substantial good is likely to result. That there are some real converts, is probable; but there is much reason to believe that there is a large difference between the number who have nominally professed the Christian religion and the number who have an abiding faith in the doctrine of the Christian church. One thing is reasonably certain: We are paying a terrible price for the opportunity which the presence of Chinese affords for spreading the gospel. Where we have converted one Chinaman to Christianity, their influence has degraded ten white men to practical heathenism. The most prominent Joss-Houses, or temples of worship, are the Pak Tai, in St. Louis alley; entrance off Dupont and Jackson streets. One on Jackson street, between Dupont and Stockton, where the "Goddess, Queen of the Heaven," is located. One on Clay street, between Kearny and

Dupont streets—home of Goddess Shing Moo. One on Pine street, above Kearny street, where Kwau Tai, God of War and Commerce, holds forth. One in Brooklyn place, off Sacramento street, near Stockton street. One in Waverly place, between Clay and Washington streets, and one on Washington street, above Dupont street. In these temples, or Joss-Houses, are their gods, with their attendant divinities, and tablets, and inscriptions, and incense-sticks, and incense-urns, and gongs, and bells. They do not have congregational worship as Christian people do. They have certain feast days and birthdays of their gods and goddesses, when they throng the temples with their offerings and prayers; but single worshipers may be seen there every day. As we enter, to the right is a small god that guards the door and sees that no harm comes to the house, or to those who enter. To the left is a frame-work some seven feet high, on which is a barrel-shaped drum, and hanging inside the frame, beneath the drum, is a bell about two feet in diameter at bottom. Close by is a furnace, built of brick, with a hole in front, and an aperture at the top for the smoke to escape. Into this furnace the prayers, which are printed on slips of red or blue paper, are put, lighted. As they burn, and the smoke ascends, the drum is beat and the bell struck with a short stick. This is done to warn the gods that they offer up their prayers. Across the center of the room is a case, or cabinet, about ten feet long and three feet high, filled with characters elaborately carved in bronze. They represent the principal gods and men of note who have figured in Chinese history. Every figure has its his-

torical record. The one in the temple in St. Louis alley cost $7,500 in China. It is in sections, the characters in groups representing warriors on horseback and men on foot, in fighting attitude. On the top are five bronze urns, in each of which are burning Joss-sticks, impregnated with incense. On each side of the main room are the prayer tablets. The letters are cut from solid wood and glued on the tablets, giving them the appearance of raised characters. At the back of the room are the gods, in large, elaborately-carved open cabinets. In the Pak Tai temple, in St. Louis alley, the first god to the left is the "God of Medicine," Sam Chow. Three cups of native liquor set in front. All the gods are represented sitting cross-legged. The God of Medicine holds in his right hand a pill. The central case contains three gods. The center one is the God of War. He holds a drawn sword in his right hand. The other two are his associates. At his right sits the God of the Mountain. To his left the God of the Valleys. The god on the right is a Tartar. The next god, in a cabinet by himself, is the God of Riches. In the next room is the Goddess of Virtue and her attendants. She is the same as the Mother of Christ. She is of noble birth. Her attendants are of low origin, but selected on account of their goodness. In the third room is the God of Beasts. He is supposed to have the same power over the beasts that St. Patrick had over the snakes in Ireland. To the right of this God is a beast, yellow-skinned, striped with black, with short ears, large eyes, and broad mouth. He is very ugly looking, and is about the size of an ordinary tom-cat. He is repre-

sented with mouth open, and tail erect, in the act of jumping. When he gets rampant, they lay a slice of bacon or pork across his nose, to appease his hunger and keep him quiet. His tail and nose are badly damaged; the rats have evidently given him a racket, when stealing the bacon left for him by the worshipers. The principal Chinese Joss is Quan Kong, who, according to their history, was a noted general over two thousand years ago. He was one of three brothers, the oldest of whom was the first Emperor of China. Quan Kong was eleven feet three inches high, very stout-built and a great warrior, honest and honorable toward all men. In nearly every house or store they have a picture of this god, the original of which was taken from life, in his fifty-third year, wearing his dragon dress, which was green, that being his favorite color. The Chinese have many other gods, all representing different subjects. Some of the principal Chinese festivals are:

1st moon, first day, February 1st—Chinese New Year—principal holiday. Festival kept up for a week.

1st moon, third day, February 3d—beginning of spring.

1st moon, eighteenth day, February 18th—Rain and Water Festival.

2d moon, second day, April 3d—Birthday of Pak Tai, God of the Northern Regions. Ceremonies for three days, commencing on the evening of April 1st, at the temple on St. Louis alley.

3d moon, third day, April 4—Tsing Ming; worship at the tombs.

3d moon, twenty-third day, April 24—Birthday of

the Goddess Queen of Heaven. Ceremonies continue for three days and three nights at the temple on Jackson street.

4th moon, fifth day, May 5th—Beginning of summer.

4th moon, sixteenth day, May 16th—Birthday of Kaw Fa, the Goddess of Flowers, guardian of children.

4th moon, twentieth day, May 20—Birthday of the Goddess Shing Moo. Ceremonies at the temple on Clay street, between Kearny and Dupont streets.

5th moon, fifth day, June 4th—General Feasting. A time of general hilarity and feasting in China. Racing of dragon boats on the rivers.

5th moon, thirteenth day, June 12th—Birthday of Kwai Tai, God of War and Commerce. Celebration at the temple on Pine Street.

5th moon, twenty-first day, June 20th—Summer solstice.

6th moon, eighth day, July 6th—Little Heat.

6th moon, twenty-fourth day, July 22d—Great Heat.

7th moon, tenth day, August 7th—Beginning of autumn.

7th moon, fourteenth day, August 11th—General feasting. Ceremonies at the temple in St. Louis alley.

7th moon, sixteenth day, August 13th—Birthday of the God of Wealth. Ceremonies at the temple in St. Louis alley.

7th moon, twenty-fifth day, August 22d—Decrease of Heat.

8th moon, seventh day, September 2d—Birthday of How Wong. Religious ceremonies of three days and three nights, commencing on the eve of August 29th, at the temple in Brooklyn place.

8th moon, twelfth day, September 7th—White Dew.

8th moon, fifteenth day, September 10th—Worship of the full moon. General feasting. "Moon cakes" are made and eaten.

8th moon, twenty-seventh day, September 22d—Autumnal equinox.

8th moon, twenty-seventh day, September 22d—Birthday of Confucius.

9th moon, ninth day, October 3d—Worship at the tombs.

9th moon, thirteenth day, October 7th—Cold Dew.

9th moon, twenty-eighth day, October 22d—Fall of Frost.

9th moon, twenty-eighth day, October 22d—Birthday of Wa Kwông, God of Fire.

10th moon, thirteenth day, November 6th—Beginning of winter.

10th moon, twenty-eighth day, November 21st—Little Snow.

11th moon, fourteenth day, December 6th—Great Snow.

11th moon, twenty-ninth day, December 21st—Winter solstice. General feasting. The Chinese call it their Christmas, as it comes near the same time.

12th moon, fourteenth day, January 5th—Little Cold.

12th moon, twenty-eighth day, January 19th—Great Cold.

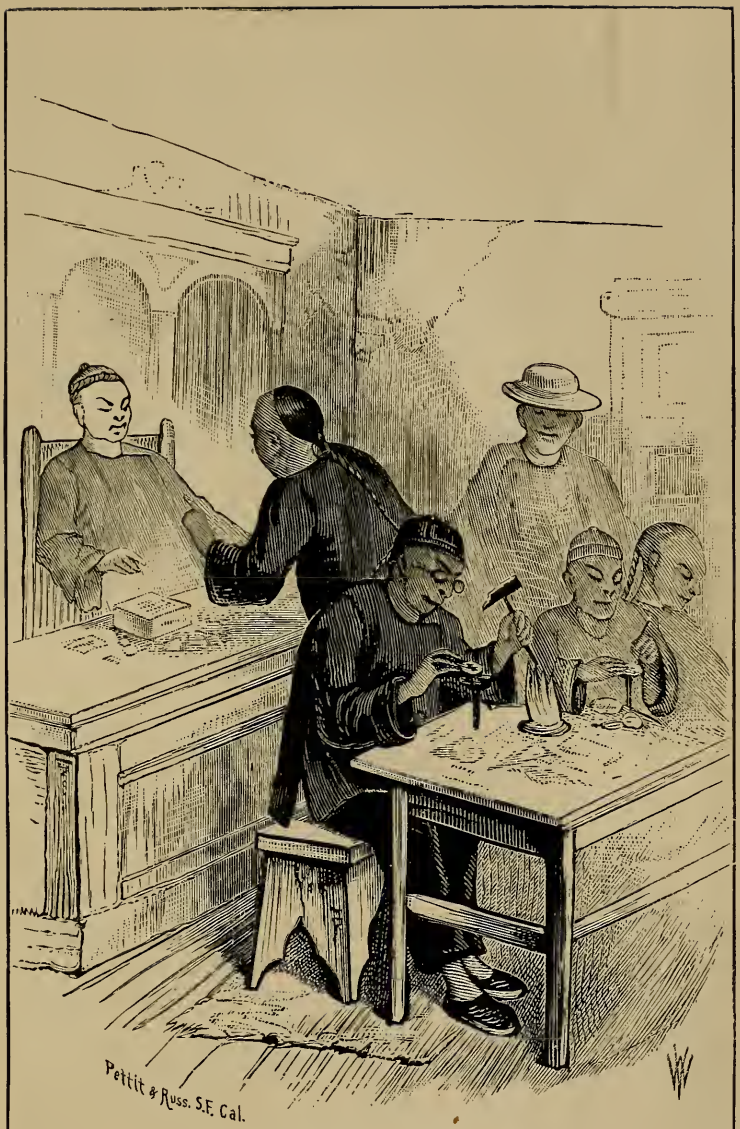
In the temple on Waverly place there is a Chinese school, with about fifty scholars.

CHINESE RELIGION.

The religion of the Chinese is generally defined as

Buddhist. The word conveys but a vague meaning to American ears. The teachings of Confucius, which are but a code of morals, have been engrafted in the Buddhist faith. The Tanists are a modification of Buddhism, as it originally existed. Ex-Governor Low testified before the Congressional Committee that the Buddhists believe in a future state and in the transmigration of souls. The theory is, that if a man does not live a purely honest life, he is not fit for perfect bliss, but will be transformed into a better man; in other words, given another chance. If he continues to improve, he will be continually transformed into a better person, and so on, until he arrives at a state of perfection. The presumption is, that the average Chinaman will remain on earth some years longer if their theory is carried out. They have a sliding scale downward, also. If a person gravitate downward during life, he will be transformed into something worse, until he descends to the brute creation. The logic of it is that if a person in any of these stages improves, his downward progress will be stayed; and if in succeeding transformations he continues to progress, he will work upward again. If there is any point where a change for the better ceases to be possible, it has not been established. The term Buddhist comes from Buddha, who, like our Christ, was a perfect human being. Mr. Low said that the Buddhist faith in its original purity, does not in its forms and ceremonies differ much from Catholicism. They have their saints and apostles, Nuns and Sisters of Charity, and the rules of their religion provide strictly for celibacy of priests, and a vegetable diet, the same as the Catholic. Abbe

Huc, a Catholic writer and traveler, who made a tour through China several hundred years ago, found the religion of that country so like his own that he set it down as the invention of the devil, to throw doubt and discredit upon the true faith. His theory was that the devil intended it as a stumbling-block, and made it so much like the original and true faith that only an expert could tell them apart. The ingenuity of this theory is somewhat blunted by the fact that Buddha existed a long time before Christ. In fact, there is little doubt but the Catholics obtained their symbols from the Buddhists. The Abbe Huc fell into the common error of supposing the religion to be the original which he was taught first. The Buddhists teach Heaven as a future state of bliss, in a vague way, but do not believe in a personal God. They worship their ancestors and the tablets of their ancestors. They mix the material with the spiritual life. They burn papers and tapers round their dead, and feed them on roast pork, chickens, rice, milk and tea. They believe that they can go to the Celestial Realm only from the Celestial Kingdom. The belief, somewhat prevalent, that they deny that women have souls, is not substantiated. Another authority—Charles Walcott Brooks—says that the Chinese religion, as he understands it, is much like modern Spiritualism. He refers rather to the religion of the masses of the people than to pure Buddhists. Their religion is called Fung-Shay. Fung means wind, Shay means water, and which as a compound word, means wind and water. They believe in the influence of departed spirits over the living; not to oblige them to do anything, but to influence them.



JEWELERS

The Chinese have their planchette as well as Americans, and priests go into convulsions and write with mediums. The Chinese truly verify the Scripture statement that in this world "there be that are called gods many;" the whole land is full of idols, and all the people are filled with idolatrous superstitions. The Chinese are no zealous propagandists: they are, on the other hand, so tolerant they have allowed the Tanist sect to spring up, then the Buddhist to come in, then the Mohammedan, and now the Christian religion is tolerated; and by the provisions of the treaty, any Chinaman is at liberty to profess whatever faith he chooses.

CHAPTER XI.

CHINESE WOMEN.

Most of the women brought to this country are prostitutes, bought in China for that purpose. The married women are chaste. They cannot be otherwise. They are never allowed to be placed in a position where they can be tempted, for they are always confined to their residences. A Chinaman is not limited to one wife, but can have as many as he can support. If the first wife has a boy, he does not care for more wives. Very few Chinamen in this country are married. In China the rule is that all respectable

women shall be married; but a large class of men are not married. In some provinces there is a system of infanticide of girls, particularly among the poorer classes, and women become scarce. There are but a few hundred married Chinese women in California. Some come here as wives, and a few have married according to American custom. A description of the first marriage celebrated in San Francisco according to Chinese custom was given in a recent number of the *Morning Call*. As this ceremony gives a very correct idea of Chinese manners and customs, a portion of the description is transferred to these pages.

After giving the name of the bride as Miss Ah Quy, and the English name of the groom as Charles Jamison, the *Call* continues:

The marriage had been the subject of conversation in Chinese circles for several weeks, and those who looked forward to be invited at the wedding were in a flutter of excitement. Miss Ah Quy, who is about eighteen years of age, was a few days ago placed in charge of two matrons, who busied themselves instructing her in her duties as a wife. A number of the relatives of the groom yesterday morning sent Miss Ah Quy presents of cakes, on which were stamped mottoes, congratulations and wishes of prosperity in her new sphere of life. A large number of merchants and the President of the Six Companies visited a Chinese restaurant, on Jackson street, where a banquet was to be given after the ceremony, and deposited with the proprietor sums of money varying from one dollar to ten dollars, to be donated to the groom. Each individual donation was wrapped in a strip of red paper

and marked with the name of the donor, and the packages, when indorsed, were delivered to the groom, who, according to the custom of his country, was in duty bound to seek out the donor and extend a personal invitation to attend the banquet. One hundred and eleven Chinamen made donations, and as the groom had to invite each one of these, he had no light task before him. The groom had selected for his future home two rooms on the first floor of the old Baptist Church building, on Washington street, fronting on that street. These he had prepared expressly for the occasion, and fitted in part with Chinese and American furniture. On the walls were hung a number of large strips of red paper, on which were stamped Chinese proverbs relating to marriage and married life. On a table in the first room were lacquered trays, containing Chinese dried fruits and sweetmeats, while on others were tiny cups of tea. There were, also, on the table, Chinese ornaments and several water-pipes. Yesterday afternoon, at about five o'clock, the female chaperones conducted the girl in their charge to the rooms of her future husband; but before she crossed the threshhold of the door they threw a heavy handkerchief over her head, and shut out everything from her sight. This, they told her, was to warn her that in entering the married state she was groping in the dark future, but that, placing implicit faith in her husband, and relying upon him to guide her, she need not fear of making a misstep. She was then conducted to the first room, and then to the room adjoining, where she met the man who was to become her husband. He was standing by a bed in the room, and as she ap-

proached the handkerchief was removed from her head, and both sat on the edge of the bed. In sitting down he intentionally sat on a portion of the long silken skirt she wore. She made no attempt to remove the garment, and by allowing him to remain seated on her garment gave proof that she was captive, and willing to submit to his orders. Had she, however, drawn the garment toward her, it would have been proof that she would not be submissive, and would not obey him unless she felt inclined to do so. The pair then knelt before a small altar, from which hung ancestral tablets, and each offered a prayer, after which they went into the other room, where they seated themselves. One of the chaperones poured tea into two of the cups, and offered these to the groom and bride, telling each to take a sip. This being done, they took the cups again, mixed the contents, and, returning them to the pair, told them to drink, saying that as their lips had touched the beverage, they would draw inspiration from each other by partaking of the mixture. The bride, accompanied by the chaperones, followed by the groom and some relatives, formed a procession and left the house, amid the explosion of firecrackers, and marched through Stout's alley to the restaurant, where the guests had assembled and were waiting on the third floor. As the party ascended the stairs, an orchestra played an air, which a stretch of imagination might construe into a wedding-march. As the bride entered the room where the guests were assembled, she was supported by the two chaperones, and her face hid from view by a large fan. She was led around to each of the guests, and as she approached

she courtesied three times. The guests returned the courtesy, and then recited a proverb, to which the bride replied. After having gone through this ordeal 111 times, the party sat down to a banquet gotten up in the highest style of Chinese culinary art. The first course, which lasted two hours, being over, the bride was escorted to her home again. During the evening a *Call* reporter, who had attended the banquet, was asked by the groom to pay a visit to the bride. On the way to the bride's house the groom said: "I have been married in true Chinese fashion to please my friends. The ceremonies last several days, and at the expiration of the seventh day I will go before a Justice of the Peace and be married in American fashion. Now, before you see my wife I must give you some instructions. When you enter the room you must take a seat, and then the old women who have charge of the bride will bring her from the other room, and she will offer you a cup of tea and some sweetmeats. You must take the offering and say 'Thank you,' for if you did not take it she would look upon your refusal as an insult." The reporter expressed a willingness to follow instructions, and after having been shown to a seat in the bridal house, was requested to wait a few minutes until the bride was ready to come, as she was very bashful. In a few minutes the bride, supported by an elderly Chinese female, came from an adjoining room. She was attired in a new dark silk gown, which touched the floor and hid her feet from view. On her arms were heavy gold bracelets, and on the fingers of her left hand two gold rings. Her raven black hair was pomaded, and dressed with artificial flowers and

gold pins. As she entered the room she held a large fan in front of her face, which she lowered three times successively, and then she bowed three times to the reporter. The elderly woman then handed her a tray on which were several cups of tea, in each of which was a small rose. This she in turn presented to the reporter, who took one of the proffered cups, and, according to instructions, said 'Thank you.' She then presented the tray to the groom, who also took a cup of tea. The bride then offered some sweetmeats, which were partaken of. While the reporter and the groom were sipping their tea the bride backed out of the room, hiding her face from view as she did so. 'You see,' said the groom, 'she backs out of your presence. That is a sign of respect. If she did not respect you she would have turned her back on you as she left the room.' The groom then left the bride without saying a word to her, accompanied the reporter to the street, and announced his intention of returning to the banquet so as to be in time for the second course."

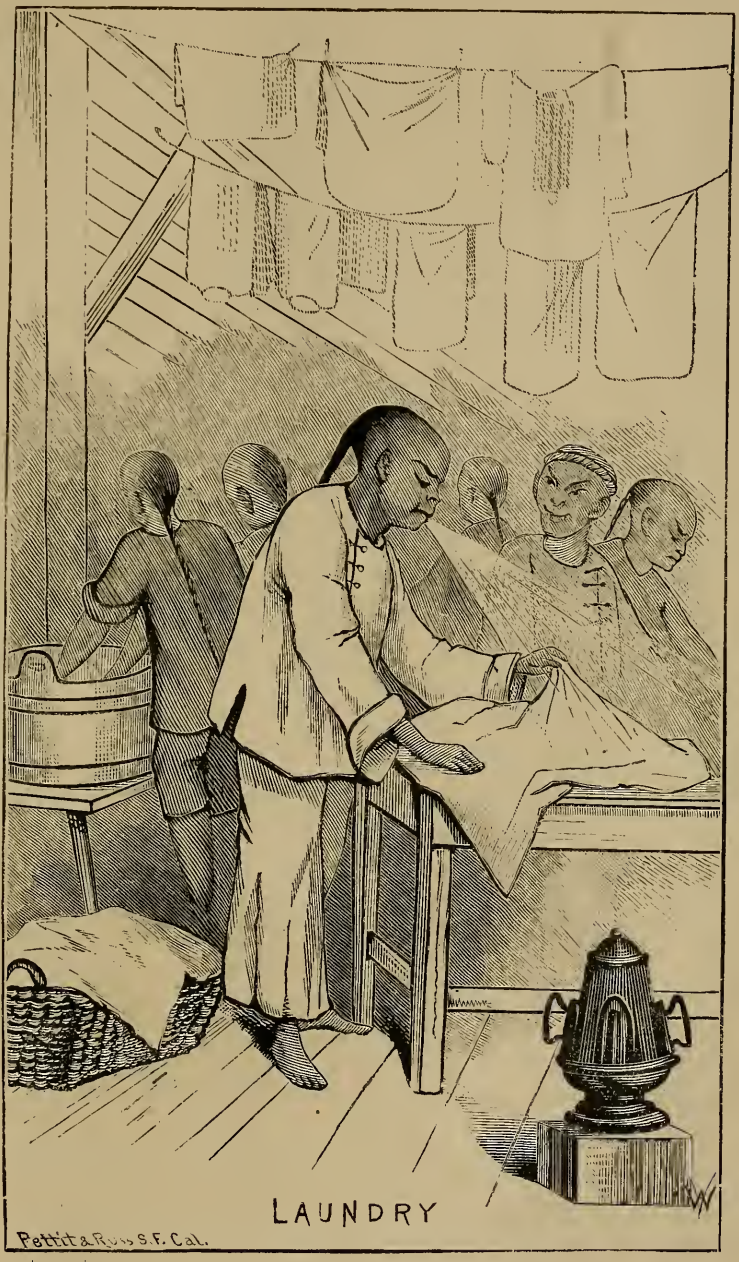
We fancy most American brides would pout if left thus unceremoniously on their wedding night; but, doubtless, Miss Ah Quy considered herself a fortunate woman, as, in fact, she had reason to. This one apparently chose for herself, but in China, especially when a girl is under age, she has very little to say about her future husband. The parents make contracts to sell them in marriage, or anything else they please; consequently the general assumption is that the women that come here must be sold or given away. Prostitution, for instance, in China is not regarded as a disgrace,

but is regarded as a profession—a condition in which they must remain, because they have been occupying it. It is supposed they are not responsible for it. The condition of the lower classes is as near that of the brutes as any human exhibition can be found anywhere in human society. All the women are virtually slaves, and mere creatures to pander to the wishes of the males and promote their happiness. Much the larger proportion of women coming here are prostitutes. The married women, mostly, dislike to leave China. In regard to the vice of prostitution, the following is a translation of a bill of sale for a China woman—an agreement to assist the woman Ah Ho, because coming from China to San Francisco she became in debt to her mistress for passage:

"Ah Ho herself asks Mr. Yu Kwau to advance for her $630, for which Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yu Kwau for services of prostitution for a term of four years. There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho shall be her own master. Mr. Yu Kwau shall not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before her time is out, her mistress shall find her and return her, and whatever expenses are incurred in finding and returning her Ah Ho shall pay. On this day of agreement Ah Ho with her own hands has received from Mr. Yu Kwau $630. If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten days, she shall make up by an extra month of service for every ten days' sickness. Now, this agreement has proof. This paper received by Ah Ho is witness. TUNG CHU.

"Twelfth year, ninth month and fourteenth day." (About middle of October, 1873.)

The Chinese women are kept in confinement more by fear than by anything else. They believe the contracts to be good and binding, and fear the consequences of any attempt to escape. If a Chinese woman escapes, and the owner fails to get her back, they generally have her arrested for larceny, and get possession of her in that way. They use the process of the courts to keep them in a state of slavery. They do not let them get out of their clutches, however, if they can help it, for they know there is no legal way of reclaiming them. When they become sick and helpless, they are turned out to die. The bones of women are not returned to China as are the bones of men. The Six Companies do not control the woman-business; it is under the management of an independent company, called the Hip Ye Tong. The barracoon, a place where women coming from the ships are placed, is situated under the Joss-House fronting on St. Louis alley and running through to Dupont street. They are kept there until apportioned off. The principal men who bring women to California are Wong Fook Sai, Be Chu, Au Geo and Wong Woon, wealthy men, who keep gambling-houses. They buy women in China for two and three hundred dollars, and sell them for $800 or $900, to be prostitutes. Many are bought in Tartary, and are known as "big feet" women, and are sometimes bought for $90. To cover up the slavery business they have an agreement that is all a sham. That paper makes the girl say that she owes $400, or so, passage-money and outfit from China, and has nothing to pay. Then some man offers to lend the money if she agrees to serve him, to pros-


LAUNDRY
Pettit & Russ S.F. Cal.

titute her body for a term of years. Most of the houses of prostitution are patronized by whites—by young ones and old ones. Boys of not more than ten or twelve years of age have been taken out of them by the police. These women entice boys of twelve years in their dens and ruin them. The women are treated by their masters according to their behavior. If they make money freely they are well treated; if not, they are fearfully beaten. The youngest of these women are sometimes less than fifteen years of age. There are many leading Chinamen who are interested in these houses of prostitution. There are houses exclusively for Chinamen, in which the women have some chance of making enough to purchase their freedom, as they receive many presents. Those in houses for white men have no chance. Some Chinamen have been known to sell their wives after first letting them out by the month. The number of Chinese houses of prostitution in San Francisco is about 100, situated in Stout's alley, Murderers' alley, Spofford alley, Washington and Sullivan alleys. The condition in alleys is very dirty and filthy

Many of the Chinamen who come to this country are married, but leave their wives in China. It is incumbent upon every man in some portions of China to marry. This is the custom. Even at a tender age marriage contracts are made by the parents of either side, and they are often betrothed in infancy, and as soon as old enough they marry. At one time an attempt was made to return to China women who came here as prostitutes. In 1874 a number of Chinese prostitutes came to San Francisco, and on the arrival

of the Chinese steamer the Chief of Police, with several officers, took the women to the City Hall. The Rev. Otis Gibson, of the Chinese Mission, was used as interpreter, and they were examined. Some testified they came under contract; others that they came to see their husbands, while others would not talk at all. In September, 1874, the Commissioner of Immigration caused the detention on board the steamer Japan of a number of women who came on that vessel, said to be prostitutes. It was so determined by the State courts, and the women ordered returned to China. Under Section 174 of the Penal Code they were detained on board the vessel. They were brought before the Fourth District Court on habeas corpus, but were remanded. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the State, and the opinion of the lower court was sustained, and an order entered requiring the Pacific Mail Company to take them back to China, or give the bonds required under section 174. As the steamer was about to sail they were taken by the Coroner of San Francisco on a writ of habeas corpus issued from the United States District Court. That court reversed the decision of the State courts, and ordered the discharge of the parties. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the latter decision sustained. Since that time nothing has been done toward returning Chinese women. There are in San Francisco over 1,800 of these women. There are not over 100 Chinese women who are not prostitutes living in Chinatown. The Chinese women who go with white men live in very small places, some of them in holes six by six and six

by five feet, and are very filthy. The women who go with Chinamen are of the better class ; their places are cleaner and they have more room. These women will have nothing to do with white men. Some of the women work during the day, sewing on clothing, binding shoes or making button-holes. Many of the women are very pretty and quite talkative, having learned some English. They learn slang very quick. "What d'e ye soye?" is a great expression with them. They dress neatly and wear considerable jewelry, such as finger-rings, bracelets, anklets and ear-rings. They are very fond of American pictures, and almost every house is adorned with cheap pictures of the kind published by Currier & Ives, of New York. In all the houses and stores are plants, Chinese lilies being their favorite. The women wear their hair done up at the back of the head, well plastered with pomade, and adorned with artificial flowers and gold ornaments. The girls wear their hair braided in a queue. Some of the women have their hair dressed by professional hair-dressers. Occasionally we see one dressed in American style, pull-back and all. The ordinary furniture of one of these creatures consists of a lounge, two chairs, a niche, where stands the cross-legged Buddhists' God, while in front of it are a few burning Joss-sticks, a saucer or tin of ashes, and a bamboo cup where the beauty tries her fortune on each propitiatory occasion, striving, with blind superstition, to believe that there are days which bring more of fortune's smiles than others. On the outside of the portal is a small red slip with the legend "May those who enter and depart see happiness," while at the threshold is a

heap of garbage, composed of vile putrefactions of the household.

ABANDONMENT OF CHILDREN.

At Pekin and Tsin-tsin the Sisters of Mercy have convents. The most of the inmates are children picked out of the gutter, where they were left by their parents. In this country, here in San Francisco, the sick and helpless male orphans are often turned out on the street to die. Sometimes they put them into little rooms, without light, bedding or food. There they are left to starve and die. The Chinese have some superstition in regard to persons dying in their houses. They believe to let one die in the house brings bad luck.

SLAVE DEALERS.

We cannot give a better idea of the manner of life these Chinese women who are not courtesans lead, than by reproducing the testimony of a Chinese girl, named Ah Sin, who, with her owner, was arrested, the latter being charged with battery upon the former. Ah Sin said: "I have been in this country about nine years. I was brought here from China by an old woman, known as the Gray-headed Old Lady. She bought me in China for something over $20. I stayed with her for about a month, another girl being with me under similar conditions, when we were both sold. I was bought by Dr. Li-Po-Tai for something from $20 to $40. Women were cheap then, and I did not fetch much. I lived with the Doctor for a short time only, his wife saying I was of no account. Li-Po-Tai owed a man named Loo Fook some money, and I was

given to Loo Fook in part payment of that debt. I don't know how much I was valued at then. I was afterward transferred to one Lee Choy, who said he intended making a courtesan of me. I was then between eleven and twelve years old. One night I went out with Lee Choy, and we met a man who saw I was young, and said I was good looking, and he wanted to know if I was for sale. The joke turned to earnest, and I was finally sold to him for about $100. His name was Lee Fong Wang. I lived with him about three or four years, and he sold me to Lee Chein Kay for $160. I lived with him both as servant and wife. I don't know that he had any other wives then. I have lived at two different wash-houses during the last four months, acting as servant for the men there. I have not lived with Lee Chein as his wife for about a year. I have received no pay for my labor in the wash-houses, and, worse than that, have been whipped a number of times. My clothing for the last twelve months has been furnished by the proprietors of the wash-houses; but now that I have left them, they want the clothes back again. When I lived in one of the wash-houses on Ninth street I had to sleep in a sort of stable in the rear of the house. I slept alone; but Lee Chein accused me of receiving some of the men. I wanted Lee Chein to bring me to live in the main part of the city, where there might be a woman with me, and he finally did so, taking me to a place on Third street. I asked him under what conditions I was to go there. He said as a servant, but he intended to go to Grass Valley soon and start a butcher-shop. He went to the mountains and returned, order-

ing me to get ready to go with him to the mountains. I was sick, and asked him for some money; but he wouldn't give me any, and accused me of pretending to be sick. A man from the Ninth-street wash-house came to me and wanted me to go and live with him, saying that if Lee Chein did not sell me then, he would do so soon, and that arrangements for my sale were then being made. I afterward overheard a conversation in an adjoining room, my sale being arranged by Lee Chein and another man, who was to pay $750 for me. That man's name was Wong-Lee-Chun. He wanted me to go back to Ninth street with him, but I refused, and he threatened to get a policeman and make me go. Just after the Chinese New Year I was called upon by Lee Fong Mung, who advised me to go. I was then taken to a house on California street, where I stayed a few days and nights. Lee Chun then wanted me to go to the mountains with him, but I wouldn't consent, and he struck me with the handle of a feather duster. I then told him I would go back to Lee Fong Mung, and he said he would not let me do so. I ran out into the street, and he followed me, when I was arrested."

Prosecuting Attorney Flood offered to introduce the following translation of a Chinese letter in evidence, to show in what manner these people contract marriages:

HONG KONG, Jan. 1, 1879.

Dear Brother Chun Sut:

Agreeably with your last advice, I have already selected a match for your marriage, and paid a sum of

earnest-money to bind the contract. Am now only waiting your further remittance to complete the happy bargain. I have also received your subsequent letter, stamped and signed by the firm Wing Cheang Pot.

PRO MAN KAI AND POK SHAN.

Several peculiarities in the marital customs of the enlightened Celestial people were illustrated during the hearing of Ah Sin's testimony. Being asked if she had considered herself the wife of one of her numerous purchasers, she said it was hard to tell. Her owner might have considered himself her husband; but he never told her so. The Chinese were not like the white people. A husband never told his wife anything, and never allowed her to interfere with his business. A woman was supposed to obey her husband, or owner, without asking reasons for anything; and if she chose to be indiscreet enough to hesitate to do as he commanded, she must expect to be punished as he might see fit. A woman can make nothing by protesting. She receives no sympathy from the men, because they all act in the same way toward their women, and the women recognize their inability to help themselves, and consider that the attempt of any of their number to over-ride these rules only entails more trouble upon them at large, and consequently they are inclined to unfavorably regard a troublesome woman. Our courts have found it very difficult to redress these evils, in consequence of the ingenuity of Chinese masters in making a legal case. They consult American lawyers, who help them to evade the intent of the law. As a rule, a Chinaman only needs to know what is the

law to find some means of getting around it. The Chinese generally get justice in our courts, if the court can get at the facts of a case.

CHAPTER XII.

CRIMES AND CRIMINALS.

The Chinese have no love for our institutions. They have no knowledge of our institutions. There are many who are intelligent in trade—intelligent in the books of Confucius and the classics of the Chinese Empire—but there is hardly one in California who can intelligently answer as to the form or scope or object of our constitutional government. It is stated by officers and others who have the chance to know, that the Chinese are a great deal more likely to commit crime than any other race here—and they are a great deal harder to convict. Punishment does not follow them as surely as it does others, for the reason that the Chinese protect each other. They have no respect for our laws. They have courts wherein they try cases that occur between themselves, although such courts are in violation of our laws—and they respect the decision of such courts in preference to ours. Up to 1877 there had been 28,834 cases brought in the District Courts of San Francisco against Chinese, to enforce the performance of contracts or to recover

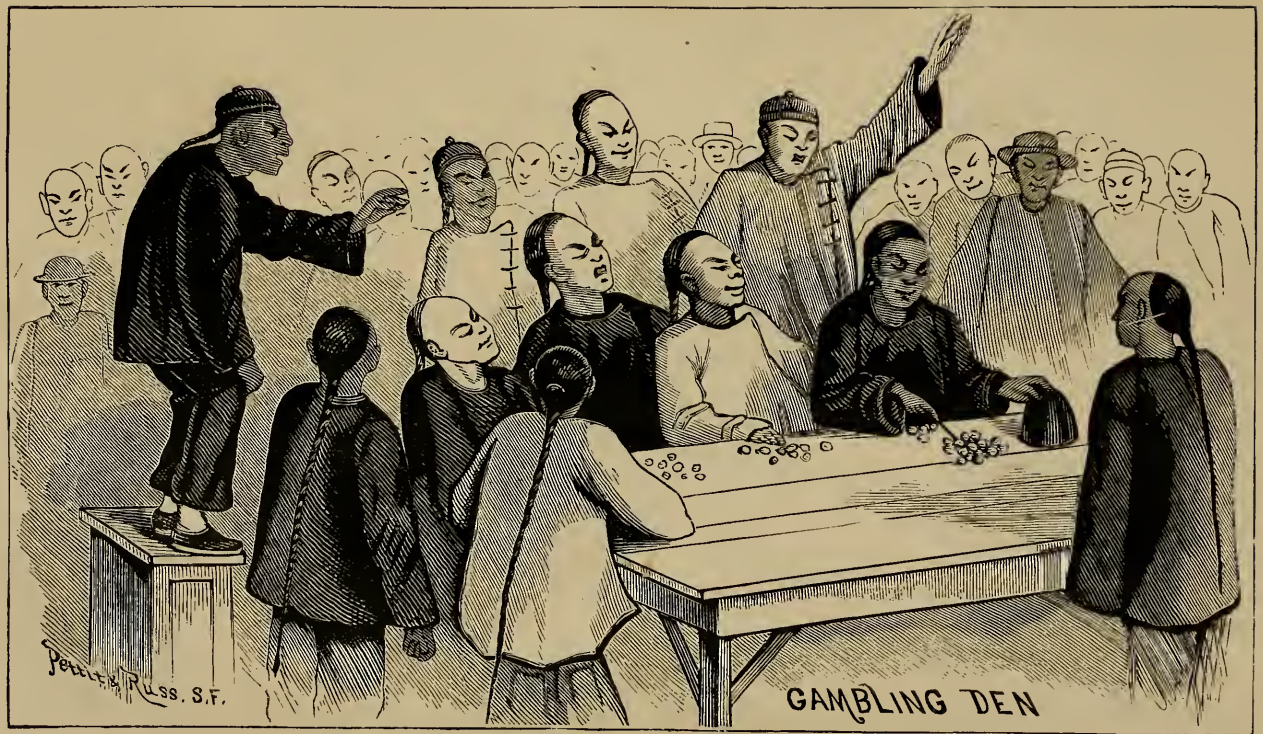
RAG PICKER
MERCHANT
FARM HAND
HIGHBINDER
VEGETABLE PEDDLER
WOMAN
Pettit & Russ. S.F. Cal.
CHINESE CHARACTERS

damages for their breach. It is a difficult matter to arrive at the truth from Chinese witnesses. There is no doubt that the Chinese constantly perjure themselves in our courts. It is a well-known fact that the Chinese often hire assassins, and that they put up notices—a sort of advertisement—for such. An instance of this was given by Charles T. Jones, of Sacramento, before the Congressional Committee of 1877. He testified to the fact of a case in Sacramento, where F. A. Pratt, of Sacramento, rented the basement of the Orleans Hotel to a Chinaman for a laundry. There appeared to be a Chinese laundry association there. One of their rules was that no Chinaman should establish a laundry within so many doors where there was one existing. They notified this Chinaman that he had violated the law, and that he must leave. They afterward sent their men to him, armed, and demanded $110, as a fine, and threatened to kill him if he did not pay. Afterward the police raided this court when in session, arrested forty-seven of them, and found a number of papers, one of which was translated as follows: "Because hear a country has laws and customs which they observe, afterward families also mutually follow. How much more have come down to us for a long time. Each man doing his duty dares not *not* observe them. At this time Wong Yee Nin, on Second street, Orleans Laundry, secretly has opened business, so broken rules, resting on his own force cannot oppose him. Therefore assemble in hall. We men, one heart, put forth exertion mutually to aid, must clean him out and avoid after trouble. Therefore deliberate the following particulars: In our companies

numbers of friends who has ability first to kill Wong San Chu thankfully give him 2,000 round dollars. Afterward, also, take Wong Yee Nui, destroy him, name thankfully, give him 600 round dollars. If only wound him, not kill, also give him one-half in his hand. At this time what trouble comes cannot tell. If he cannot get away, is seized by foreigners and put in jail. Then our company manage the whole affair. Do not swallow our words. This poster is put up as evidence. Kwong Sui, one year five months. Lucky day fixed. Kwong Hong Tong put forth."

The number of arrests in San Francisco from July 1, 1875, to June 30, 1876, were 20,108, of which 2,117 were Chinese. The Chinese population was estimated at 30,000—2,117 criminals—being equal to one in 15 for the year ending June 30, 1876. The Chinese per cent. of the whole number of arrests was about 10½ per cent.

The arrests for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, were 21,789—the same percentage of Chinese as the year before. The year ending June 30, 1878, arrests, 18,627. The Chinese per cent. was nearly 11½ per cent. of their population, and for the year ending June 30, 1879, about the same. The Chinese inflict a peculiar kind of punishment for the crime of larceny. They term it the "caugue" in China—two boards, locked together around the neck of the prisoner, who is fed twice a day from rice-water, outside the place where the crime has been committed. The boards are put around the neck, locked together the shape of the neck, and the bill of the crime that has been committed by the prisoner, in the shape of the boards. The Chi-



GAMBLING DEN

nese do not regard an oath in our courts. Detective Rogers testified before the Joint Congressional Committee that a Chinese case was being tried, when one of the parties to the suit asked him how many witnesses were on the other side. And when they found out that the witnesses on the other side outnumbered theirs, they immediately went out to get sufficient witnesses to outnumber them.

ONE FORM OF OATH.

They swear witnesses by an oath on a piece of paper read to them, and then lighted from a lamp on the magistrate's table, and burned up, and then break it in ashes. The oath is generally printed in black letters, on red paper. While the paper is burning they repeat the words of the oath. They have various societies for the protection of each other—the laundrymen, shoemakers and cigar men. The Laundry Society issue a permit for the keeping of a wash-house. In order to locate a wash-house they count the doors from one to the other. One Chinaman paid a man $300 for cutting an extra door into his building, so that he could count one more door and get another wash-house for a certain length of time.

HIGHBINDERS

Are men employed by these companies, or societies, to hound and spy upon Chinese, and pursue them if they do not live up to their rules or comply with their contracts. They are men who can be hired to assassinate certain Chinamen whom the secret tribunals have or-

dered put out of the way. They go around and blackmail Chinese merchants and prostitutes, and, if they don't get money, raise a fight. Some of them are called hatchet-men. They carry a hatchet, with the handle cut off; it may be about six inches long, with a handle, with a hole cut in it. The handle is sawed off, leaving just enough to keep a good hold. Their headquarters is generally in the top story of some lodging-house. If a man is killed by a member of an opposition company, they hold a meeting and decide as to what he is worth. If the other company is willing to pay the amount that they demand for the murdered man, they drop it, and if not, they prosecute it.

SENTENCES OF CRIMINALS.

"Man, in the populous empires of the orient, is as a weed," De Quincey has said in effect in a passage in his "Confessions," and in China the disregard for human life—the callousness to human suffering—is notorious. This disregard and callousness have been incorporated into every section of the criminal code of the country, and not even the gaining of a foothold by foreign civilization has been sufficient to shame the rulers of the Flowery Kingdom from their cruelty. The "French Mixed Court," at Shanghai—some of the members are presumably Europeans—have passed some fearful sentences. Some prisoners are sentenced to receive fifty or one hundred blows; also condemned to a month's "caugue"—that is, to wear round the neck a huge wooden collar, weighing thirty or forty pounds, for the term named; while women are ordered flogged on the face with a strap. Some are allowed choice of punish-

ment, in case of capital punishment—to be decapitated or starved to death. If the latter is chosen, they are put in a cage, where the public can watch from day to day the slow progress of their gradual extinction. When prisoners are taken out for execution they are brought out of their cells by a police official, seized and bound by the turnkeys and placed in the basket, to be carried, depending from a bamboo, by two bearers; a wooden tag tied around their necks, giving their names and ages, and the crimes for which they are to die.

In Canton the execution-ground is a small triangular space. On one side is a low wall; on another some wretched houses. The inhabitants are miserably poor, and seem altogether indifferent to the scenes enacted there. Along the wall are heaps of skulls, bleaching in the sun; some boxes and jars of quick-lime, in which might be seen scattered tufts of hair and crosses, from which depended bits of stiffened rope—to these they tie prisoners who are to be tortured. A common mode of punishment is to cut them to pieces while alive, beginning with the eyelids, the nose and the lips, and then going on to the arms and legs.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHINESE GAMBLERS.

There are between fifty and sixty Chinese gambling-houses kept constantly open in the Chinese quarter. These gambling-dens are close rooms—inside rooms, generally—about twelve feet by six, with a long table in the center. They enter through three doors, each from one inch to three inches in thickness. When they wish to gamble they close these doors, fasten them with strong bars, and station a lookout to warn if intruders' approach. They play with dominoes, but their favorite game is known as "Tan."

The game is described as follows: It is played with small "cash" pieces, a small brass Chinese coin, with a square hole in the center. They will have a huge pile of them—probably three or four hundred. The dealer sits at the end of the table. He has an inverted bowl that he uses—a tea-bowl usually. These pieces are all scrambled up together in a heap, and the dealer places a cap on the top. While the cap remains there they make their bets, and the moment he gives the word the bets are closed. He has a piece of whalebone stick, a little tapered, brought to a little bow on one end. He takes out the pieces by one, two, three, four. They are all counted except the last four. They make their bets as to whether one will be left, or two, three or four, or whether it is even or odd on the four last counted. He takes all those at the edge of the

bowl first, and when he raises the bowl the betting is stopped, and he counts those under the bowl. If one is remaining, and a man bets that one will remain, he gets four. If he bets that it is even, and it comes even, he gets the amount—that is, two; or, if he bets odd, and it comes one either way. It is usually played by a number—sometimes as many as sixty sitting around the table. It is ostensibly a game of chance, but can be made a game of skill. The Chinese are addicted to gaming, and support a larger proportion of professional gamblers than almost any other people. They have lotteries, conducted on much the same principle as European or American lotteries. A police officer, who testified before the Congressional Committee, said that he believed that, with possibly here and there an exception, all Chinese gamble. This passion for gambling appears to be their principal weakness. It drains the working men of their earnings. Those who have the best means of knowing do not think the mass of the city population accumulate more than a few dollars before it is invested in some gambling game. American ladies who keep Chinese help are often made cognizant of Chinese habits in this respect. Very few of them remain away from these dens long at a time. They will draw a week's wages, spend an evening or a night in their quarter, then come back without a penny, and go patiently about their work. If remonstrated with and warned of the consequences of their folly, they admit the hopelessness of their case, but repeat the experiment when again in funds. But for this one habit, the mass of Chinese would accumulate enough in California in five years to live independ-

ently in China the remainder of their days. Possibly the relaxation of gambling is a natural result of their unremitting toil. Their earnings wasted at the gambling-table go out of the country as completely as if sent monthly by the persons who earn it. The community in which they live is not benefited by their expenditure.

CHAPTER XIV.

OPIUM-SMOKING.

Opium-smoking is another vice of the Chinese. It is not easy to determine what proportion of them are addicted to the use of this drug. Mr. Brooks testified before the Joint Committee that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, not one out of twenty uses opium at all. He gave it as his opinion that not one per cent. of the Chinese population use it to the degree which affects their capacity to labor. This, however, is a matter of opinion. The Chinese quarter is full of dens, where Chinamen congregate in scores and smoke until a state of stupefaction is produced. Health Officer Meares testified that if a person not accustomed to these things opens the door of one of these dens, the odor is almost beyond endurance. In his opinion, the habit of opium-smoking is very general, and confined to no particular class. House-servants

OPIUM DEN

rarely sleep where they work. He did not regard opium-smoking as so dangerous to the peace of the city as drinking liquors to a like excess, but worse for the individual. A Chinaman drunk, or stupefied with opium, is inoffensive, so far as others are concerned. When they get sufficiently under its influence, they go to sleep, and that is the end of it. Many ladies have discovered that their Chinese servants would be morose and stupid on some days, though cheerful and intelligent on others. Probably few of them imagine that the night previous to the morose days had been passed in an opium-den. Yet such is often the case. There are buildings rented to Chinamen in which the occupants smoke as much as they please, but do not admit strangers. Often, in such buildings, two or three Chinamen will be visible from the passage-ways, reclining on hard boards, preparing their opium and smoking it. The habitual opium-smoker does not smoke himself into a state of stupefaction—at least, for a long time. He retains his senses, and seems rather to enjoy his condition. If a stranger approaches and accosts him, he answers with a vacant smile, and, perhaps, a few words. They do not resent intrusion, nor take any means to prevent it. They are indifferent, and seem to imagine themselves happy. They will drowse for a while, then partially recover and refill their pipes. The odor of opium, when not mingled with more noisome smells, is not unpleasant. It is peculiar and penetrating. The actual condition of the inebriate can only be known by experience. It certainly does not influence the passions as whisky does, nor make its victims quarrelsome. The writer has

seen many Chinese in the various stages of opium-intoxication, and has never seen one who was quarrelsome. It produces languor and a sort of don't-care condition of mind. The worst forms of this vice are seen in dens to which strangers are admitted on payment of a small fee. This fee secures a space large enough to lie down on and a pipe of opium. There may be twenty in a room, stretched out on the floor or piled one above another, like berths in a ship. Only the habitual opium-smoker visits these dens, except now and then a curious visitor, who is generally accompanied by an officer. The police know where these dens are, and occasionally visit them. The same number of men confined in the same space, and as drunk with whisky as the occupants are with opium, would kill each other. The opium-smoker only cares to be let alone, and as all are in about the same frame of mind, their wishes in this respect are complied with. There are opium-dens reserved especially for whites, and not always in the Chinese quarter. Lewd women and their lovers sometimes resort to these places and smoke themselves into insensibility. Boys are sometimes enticed into such places, and made drunk free of charge. They usually return, and, after a time, become frequent visitors. A very respectable lady once complained to a newspaper reporter that her son, a lad of about seventeen, had formed the habit of opium-smoking, and could not be broken of it. She first observed its effects in his emaciated appearance, but did not guess the cause. A physician enlightened her in this respect, and a watch upon the lad's movements revealed the fact that he visited a house on Jackson

street, and there indulged in his fatal habit. An appeal to the police resulted in the doors of that house being closed against him, but the habit was so fixed that he sought other places of indulgence. As a rule, white men succumb more rapidly to opium than the Chinese. The latter become used to it by degrees, and in many cases their capacity for labor is not seriously impaired by years of indulgence.

CHAPTER XV.

LEPROSY.

The terrible disease known as leprosy is not peculiar to the Chinese. It is, however, common among them, and many cases have been discovered in California. Mr. Frank Pixley stated before the Joint Commission of 1876 that our Health Officer had shipped seventeen of them, and he assured the Commission that a diligent search in their hospitals and opium-dens would result in further discoveries of the same character. Health Officer Meares described the condition of leprous persons as horrible in the extreme. Some of them appeared with their noses eaten off. The difference between the real leper and persons suffering from syphilis transmitted from one generation to another, is so slight as in many cases to baffle medical science. There is a distinction between the diseases, but they

are often confounded one with the other. Mr. Meares described the disease as follows: "Leper means 'scaly.' It first commences in the extremities, a little round circular spot, red and shining, and then a scale forms on that; and it is a succession of scales forming and dropping off all the time; and after awhile another adjoining that, and so on, until they cover the whole body." He did not regard the disease as contagious, except by transmission from one generation to another. Dr. O'Donnell, who had given the matter much study, testified that there were 150 cases in Chinatown. The symptoms and different stages of the disease were more fully described in one of Charles Warren Stoddard's papers in the *Chronicle*, in which he gives the diagnosis of the Greeks, as follows:

"When leprosy is fully developed it is characterized by the presence of dusky-red or livid tubercles, of different sizes, upon the face, lips, nose, eyebrows, ears and extremities of the body. The skin of the tuberculated face is at the same time thickened, wrinkled and shining, and the features are very greatly distorted. The hair of the eyebrows, eyelashes and beard falls off; the eyes are often injected and the conjunctiva swelled; the pupil of the eye contracts, giving the organ a weird, cat-like expression; the voice becomes hoarse and nasal; the sense of smell is impaired or lost, and that of touch, or common sensation, is strangely altered; the tuberculated parts, which are, in the first instance, sometimes supersensitive, latterly, in the course of the disease, become paralyzed or anæsthetic. As the malady progresses, the tubercles soften and open; ulcerations of similar mucous tubercles appear in the nose and

throat, rendering the breath extremely offensive; tubercular masses, or leprous tubercles, as shown by dissection, begin to form internally upon various mucous membranes and on the surface of the kidneys, lungs, etc.; cracks, fissures and circular ulcers appear on the fingers, toes and extremities, and joint after joint drops off by a kind of spontaneous gangrene. Sometimes the upper and sometimes the lower extremities are specially afflicted by this mortification and mutilation of parts. An Eastern traveler, Dr. Halbeck, says:

"The primary cause of this disease is as yet unknown; of secondary causes, diet and hereditary tendency are by far the most important; lastly, leprosy, if not contagious, is capable of propagation by the inhibition of the excreta of lepers. No one has ever succeeded in curing a case of leprosy; and however much we may hope that some drug may yet be discovered which will exercise a curative effect on the disease, we cannot but admit that means of prevention are more likely to be efficacious than any attempts at cure."

The following extract from a local paper seems to indicate that the Chinese regard leprosy as contagious:

"A man named Stanton was removed from the County Hospital to that of Twenty-sixth street, and commonly called the Pest-House. He is a native of Birmingham, England; lived for ten years in the Bombay and Madras districts, fearful for their leprosy; went thence to Calcutta; from there to New York; thence to Cleveland, Ohio, where he lived six years, and thence to Sacramento, where he arrived last September. He there had charge of a vineyard and the bossing of a Chinese assistant. Although he had not yet learned

that the Chinese must go, he soon learned that they did go from that vineyard with a rapidly consecutive persistency that bothered him entirely. Finally he fell ill of an inability to feel anything with his hands or with his feet, other than his corns. As all people do who fall sick at any place on the Pacific counter slope, from Patagonia to the Polar regions, he came to San Francisco, naturalized himself, and went to the hospital for repairs. There, in course of time, it was learned that what had probably caused the going of the Chinamen and his own sickness, was a very marked case of leprosy, of that virulent variety popularly known as the anæsthetic and tubercular. This being, as is well known, utterly incurable, he was transferred, as stated. He has had it three years, and, as it is the swiftest of all the leprosies, the physicians unite in the opinion that he cannot possibly live more than twelve years longer."

CHAPTER XVI.

ANTI-CHINESE LEGISLATION.

It has already been stated that the first hostile legislation against the Chinese dates as far back as 1852. An attempt was then made to collect from Chinese miners a small tax for the privilege of mining. It was partially successful, but its collection was attended by many difficulties. The Chinese did not walk up to the office and settle accounts with the government with the cheerfulness which reasonably might have been expected, considering the benefits derived from the privileges accorded them. The tax was levied against all foreigners who had not become, or declared their intention to become, citizens; but it was collected only from the Chinese. A strong public feeling manifested itself in subsequent years, but the treaty obligations of the United States prevented any serious attempt to legislate them out. In 1878 California found friends in the National Congress. The House Committee on Labor and Education reported a bill limiting the number of passengers that might lawfully land in any port in the United States to fifteen from one vessel. The bill was taken charge of in the House by Willis, of Kentucky, ably seconded by the entire Pacific Coast delegation. Horace Davis, of San Francisco, prepared the Eastern representatives to support the bill by procuring copies of laws passed by the Australian local government, which had the effect to stem the

tide of Chinese immigration which at one time threatened the colonies. Page, of the Second Congressional District; Luttrell, of the Third; and Wigginton, of the Fourth, contributed to the passage of the bill. The House passed the bill in February, 1879, in a slightly different form from the following, which the Senate passed on the 15th of the same month. As this bill is again before Congress, we give it entire:

"Be it enacted, etc., That no master of any vessel owned in whole or in part by a citizen of the United States, or by a citizen of any foreign country, shall take on board such vessel at any port or place within the Chinese Empire, or at any other foreign port or place whatever, any number exceeding fifteen Chinese passengers, whether male or female, with the intent to bring such passengers to the United States, and leave such port or place and bring such passengers to any number exceeding fifteen on one voyage within the jurisdiction of the United States.

SEC. 2. That whenever the master, or other person in charge of any such vessel, takes on board the same at any foreign port or place any greater number of Chinese passengers than is prescribed in the first section of this act, with intent to bring such passengers to the United States, and leave such port or place, and bring such passengers, to any number exceeding fifteen on one voyage, within the jurisdiction of the United States, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, for each passenger so taken on board and brought within the jurisdiction of the United States, exceeding the number of fifteen, be fined $100, and may also be imprisoned for not exceeding six months.

"SEC. 3. That the master of any vessel arriving in the United States, or any of the territories thereof, from any foreign place whatever, at the same time that he delivers a manifest of the cargo, and if there be no cargo, then at the time of making report or entry of the vessel, pursuant to law, shall, in addition to the other matters required to be reported by law, deliver and report to the Collector of the district in which such vessel shall arrive, a separate list of all Chinese passengers taken on board the vessel at any foreign port or place, and of all such passengers on board the vessel at that time. Such list shall be sworn to by the master in the same manner as directed by law in relation to the manifest of cargo; and refusal or neglect of the master to comply with the provisions of this section shall receive the same penalties, disabilities and forfeitures as are provided for a refusal or neglect to report and deliver a manifest of the cargo.

"SEC. 4. That the amount of the several penalties imposed by the foregoing provisions shall be liens on the vessels violating these provisions, and such vessels shall be libeled therefor in any Circuit or District Court of the United States where such vessel shall arrive.

"SEC. 5. That nothing herein contained shall be held to repeal or modify any law forbidding the importation of coolies, or of females for immoral purposes, into the United States; provided, that no Consul or commercial agent of the United States, residing at any port from which any vessel taking Chinese passengers may take her departure, shall grant the certificate provided for in Section 2,162 of the Revised Statutes

for more than fifteen Chinese passengers on any one vessel.

"SEC. 6. That this act shall not apply to persons officially connected with the Chinese government, or any embassy thereof, or to persons rescued from shipwreck during the voyage of and by the vessel seeking a harbor in stress of weather within the jurisdiction of the United States, or to persons who may only seek a temporary residence for educational purposes, and who shall have a certificate from the Chinese government for that purpose.

"SEC. 7. That this act shall take effect from and after the first day of July, 1879, and the President of the United States shall immediately, on the approval of this act, give notice to the government of China of the abrogation of articles five and six of the additional articles of the treaty of June 18, 1858, between the United States and China, proclaimed February 5, 1870, commonly called the Burlingame Treaty."

The bill, as amended in the Senate, was accepted by the House and sent to the President. The debate in the Senate was exceedingly able, and was participated in by Senators Thurman, Blaine, Sargent, David Davis, Booth, Bayard, Jones, of Nevada, in the affirmative; and by Senators Conkling, Edmunds and others in the negative. The vote on the final passage was as follows:

Ayes—Allison, Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Blaine, Booth, Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Coke, Dennis, Dorsey, Eaton, Eustis, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Hereford, Jones, of Nevada; Kirkwood, Lamar, McDonald, McPherson, Maxey, Mitchell, Morgan, Oglesby, Paddock,

Patterson, Plumb, Ransom, Sargent, Saunders, Sharon, Shields, Spencer, Teller, Thurman, Voorhees, Wallace, Windom—39.

Noes—Anthony, Bruce, Burnside, Butler, Cameron, of Wisconsin; Conkling, Conover, Davis, of Illinois; Davis, of West Virginia; Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hamlin, Hoar, Howe, Ingalls, Jones, of Florida; Kellogg, Kernan, McCreery, McMillan, Matthews, Merrimon, Morrill, Randolph, Withers—26.

An analysis of the vote shows that twenty-one Democrats and eighteen Republicans voted aye, and seventeen Republicans and ten Democrats voted nay. While the bill was in the hands of the President an immense mass meeting was held in San Francisco, to urge the President to give it his sanction. The meeting was addressed by Governor Irwin, Lieutenant-Governor Johnson, Mayor Bryant, Irving M. Scott, W. H. L. Barnes, George C. Perkins (the present Governor), A. P. Williams, Dr. Cox, Philip A. Roach, and other distinguished citizens. The Mayor correctly described public opinion on this question in his opening remarks, which we append:

"Fellow Citizens—To-day, in my judgment, is the most important day that San Francisco and the State of California have witnessed since its admission into this glorious Union. [Cheers.] The people of San Francisco, and, I may say, the entire Pacific States, some three years ago determined to exclude from this city and this coast the Chinamen coming from China. [Loud cheers.] That determination being fixed, proceedings were commenced. Shortly after the Supreme Court of the United States said that they should not

throw their paupers, their slaves, their criminals and their thieves upon this State from China. The people, without regard to party, without regard to sect, but in a solid phalanx—the entire people of this city, this State and this coast, man, woman and child—declared that this thing should be brought about, and be brought about by the same way that it had been tolerated—by the laws of the United States and California. This, fellow citizens, is the result. The two great national parties assembled, and put planks in their platforms binding their representatives in Congress to aid and use their influence by voting against any further immigration to this city, and the result has followed that a bill has been introduced as the first step to stop this great evil and curse on the people of this city and State. That bill has passed through Congress, and has now gone to the President of the United States for him to affix his signature—one of the best bills that ever passed the American Congress. We have asked you, fellow citizens, as lovers of San Francisco, as lovers of the people of this State, to assemble here to-day in mass meeting, to declare to the President, by a solid vote, that it is your wish—your desire—that he should affix his signature to that bill, and for time and for evermore to relieve us from the Chinese." [Loud cheers.]

Governor Irwin said: "I need not say it gives me great pleasure to meet with you on this occasion, and I may say that, in my judgment, no act in which I have taken part during my existence is more important than the act in which I participate at this time. We are not here for the purpose of discussing the Chinese

question. We understand it. We are here now to proclaim to the President of the United States that the people of this commercial metropolis of the Pacific desire the bill, which is now pending before him for his signature, to be signed. It was fit that this meeting should be called. The President has been informed, if the newspapers can be credited, by a member of his own Cabinet, that only the hoodlums and the politicians of the Pacific Coast were opposed to the unlimited influx of the Chinese. If the President believes this to be a correct representation of public sentiment on this Coast, he might well hesitate before affixing his signature to this bill. It was fit, therefore, that this meeting should be called ; that the business men of this State, that the property-holders of this State, that the representatives of the commercial interest of this Coast should proclaim in thunder tones that the whole people, with scarcely a dissenting voice, desire that he shall affix his signature to the bill. [Cheers.] When you, fellow-citizens, shall have made this declaration, you will have accomplished the work for which you are assembled. If, after hearing this, the President still refuses, it will be beyond your power at this time to do more."

Irving M. Scott, after alluding to the fact that the Chinese do not bring their families to this country, said :

"Thirty years ago we were a race of men ; we were without our wives and without our children. We had nobody to take care of but ourselves, and things were not so much divided as they are now. In the past thirty years every hillside and every vale, every city and every hamlet, has had its homesteads, and every

man his wife. And they have their sons and daughters, and these sons and these daughters must be brought up to trades, to earn a living, if our civilization is to be permanent. And the only way is to prepare a place for them, and root out this class of aliens without families, without children and without patriotism. I hold it as a fundamental principle that in times of great disturbance, in times of civil war, in times of foreign invasion, the men who fight for their country are the men who have their wives and their children and their homes to protect. I say to you again that this alien race plants no homesteads, rears no children, and in time of war has got nothing to fight for, and is an impediment on the very life of the nation itself."

Mr. A. P. Williams, a leading merchant, addressed the meeting as follows:

"I am not a public speaker, but have come here today at the request of your Mayor, to in part represent the mercantile interests of this State. As the ex-President of the Board of Trade, which numbers two hundred of our largest merchants of this city, representing a capital of more than $100,000,000 of money, I wish to say to you, Sir, and to the President of the United States, that we ask—nay, we demand, that he sign this bill. [Loud and continued cheering.] And furthermore, Mr. President, when A. A. Low, of New York, representing a Chinese Steamship Line, or any line connected with merchandise from China, tells you that it is going to hurt American commerce, we tell you no! We will take care of our commerce, and we do not think it will hurt you. Mr. President, the policy of this Government has been protection from its

earliest formation. You protect the silk; you protect the cloth that is imported; you protect hardware in the interests of the capitalist and the manufacturer. We say to the President now, sign this bill and protect the laboring man." [Long and continued applause and cries of "go on."]

Colonel Barnes, one of the prominent lawyers of the city, put himself on the record as follows:

"I have no doubt that while the bill will be vetoed, we shall have sweet words of promise and assurance that at some other time and in some other way, what is sought to be accomplished will be done; but I have no faith in that; I have no faith and I never had in anything except in the inherent power of the people of this State to protect themselves. There is not a single writer on international law who does not advocate and uphold the right of exclusion. There is nothing, in my judgment, in the Constitution of the United States or the links which bind us as a State to the General Government but guarantees to us, in the first place, a republican form of government. That is the first promise we got, and a republican government must be based upon intelligence, upon citizenship, upon civilization, upon those ideas which make a people united and homogeneous. Now, when they give us a treaty with China, the very treaty itself declares that the Chinese were incapable of assimilation, and nothing in that should be construed to give them citizenship. A writer on international law declared that a nation has a right to prevent a peaceful invasion the same as a nation has a right to repel a warlike invasion."

These extracts serve to show the tone of public opin-

ion. The meeting, however, had no influence with the President, who returned the bill to the House in which it originated, without his signature. The House failed to pass the bill by a two-third vote, and consequently the bill was killed. The State, however, disappointed in its appeal to the National Government, assumed to act for itself. In the month of May, 1879, the people voted to accept a Constitution which required the Legislature to pass laws prohibiting corporations to employ Chinese. In pursuance of this Constitution, the Legislature passed and the Governor, Geo. C. Perkins, signed the following bill:

"Any officer, director, manager, member, stockholder, clerk, agent, servant, attorney, employee, assignee or contractor of any corporation now existing or hereafter formed under the laws of this State, who shall employ in any manner or capacity, upon any work or business of such corporation, any Chinese or Mongolian, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and is punishable by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $1,000, or by imprisonment in the County Jail of not less than fifty nor more than 500 days, or by both such fine or imprisonment, provided that no director of a corporation shall be deemed guilty under this section who refuses to assent to such employment, and has such dissent recorded in the minutes of the Board of Directors.

"(1.) Every person who has been convicted for violating the provisions of this section, commits any subsequent violation thereof, after such conviction, is punishable as follows:

"(2.) For each subsequent conviction, such person

shall be fined not less than $500, nor more than $5,000, or by imprisonment not less than 250 days nor more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"Any corporation now existing, or hereafter formed under the laws of the State, that shall employ, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolian, shall be guilty of misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall for the first offense be fined not less than $500 nor more than $1,000; and upon the second conviction shall, in addition to said penalty, forfeit its charter and franchise and all its corporate rights; and it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General to take the necessary steps to enforce such forfeiture."

Several corporations, among them the Pioneer and Mission Woolen Mills, elsewhere spoken of as employing a large numher of Chinese, complied with the law.

A case, in which Mr. Tiburcio Parrott was defendant, was taken into the United States District Court to test the constitutionality of the law. At the time of the vote to adopt the new Constitution, the question of Chinese Immigration was submitted to the people, and less than 1,000 votes were cast in the affirmative.

Meantime the Board of Health declared Chinatown a nuisance. The Board described the condition of Chinatown, and declared it a constant menace to the health and safety of the city. This brief review of the anti-Chinese legislation, both on the part of the National Government and the State, would not be complete without reference to what is termed the Sand-lot Agitation. In 1877 Dennis Kearney, a drayman, made a speech to a mass-meeting of Workingmen, in which he declared that the "Chinese must go." The agitation

assumed such a character that many substantial citizens, who had not given the Chinese question much attention, became convinced that peace and a full measure of prosperity could not be expected while the Chinese continued to flock to our shores.

The Workingmen's Party, which elected its candidate for Mayor in the Fall of 1879, with several other heads of departments, was formed on this basis. The question became partisan only to the extent that the Workingmen claimed to be the originators of the anti-Chinese agitation, and its special champions. While the other parties joined in the general movement against the Chinese, there can be no doubt but Kearney's sand-lot speeches did much to consolidate the opposition which finds expression in the acts of legislation herein enumerated.

The Federal courts have pronounced unconstitutional two laws passed by the California Legislature—one prohibiting corporations from employing Chinese, the other denying to Chinese the right to fish in State waters. Congress adjourned without taking other action on the Fifteen-Passenger Bill than to continue it to the December Session. The most important action of the year on the Chinese question, is the appointment of a Commission to proceed to Peking and propose a modification of the Burlingame Treaty. This Commission is composed of James B. Angell, as Minister, and W. H. Trescott and John F. Swift, as Commissioners.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ARGUMENT.

The objection to Chinese immigration is not based on differences of religion, but on such a radical difference between Caucasian and Mongolian civilization, that the presence of a large number of Mongolians renders it impossible to preserve the conditions which have made our civilization what it is. American civilization is based on the family relation. Wages have been preserved at a standard which enabled industrious and sober workingmen to support families, educate children and make some provision for the future. The necessity of preserving this standard of wages is everywhere admitted. Without a degree of enlightenment among the laboring classes the preservation of our free institutions is impossible—our public-school system is founded on that necessity. The Mongolian civilization, as it appears in California, is formed on a lower basis. The Chinese, as a rule, have no families. They are a body of adults working for the best wages they can command, but ready, if they can do no better, to work for the pittance that will support life. The fact that they have generally made fair wages in this State does not affect the other fact that, if permitted to come in large numbers, competition among themselves will reduce wages to a point which affords a bare living. The Caucasian cannot enter into this competition without

submitting to the same conditions as the Mongolian has established—that means that the Caucasian must abandon the family relation as it exists among us, to compete with men who have no families. The Chinese may preserve the family relation in their own country, but they do not in this. Individuals come and go, preserving ever a large working force of single men, who have only themselves to look out for. They are foragers in a strange land, gathering what they can, sending their earnings out of the country. The wages paid them are withdrawn from the channels of trade; their food and clothes are largely imported from China; they contribute to none of the institutions on which the fabric of American society rests. An editorial in the *Call*, published shortly after the President's veto message reached this Coast, followed this line of argument, as follows:

"Henry Ward Beecher and other less-noted divines of the humanitarian school of politics, have said, in effect, that if the Caucasian race could not compete with the Chinese, it must accept its destiny under the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. In other words, if the Chinese could supplant Caucasian workingmen by reason of their ability to sustain life on lower wages, it was eminently just and proper that they should do so. There is evidently quite a large number of churchmen East who entertain similar views to those expressed by Mr. Beecher. The leading Eastern newspapers, with three or four exceptions, have fallen into the same line of thought. If the white man cannot contend against the yellow man, they say, let the yellow man take all he can. But it appears that the white man can contend

against the yellow man if he is driven to it. The contest, however, involves a descent in the scale of civilization. It involves doing without the comforts and refinements of the American workingman's home. It, in fact, involves a sacrifice of home itself."

The *Chronicle* of a late date, in reviewing one of Mr. Beecher's speeches, had the following:

"The Chinese cannot become citizens. They remain an alien and unassimilated element in the State. They do not understand or care to understand our institutions. They absorb and devour, but do not dispense or diffuse. They underbid the American and the adopted citizen in the labor market, depriving our young men and young women of the opportunity of earning a decent subsistence. Their earnings are not spent here, but are sent abroad, and the community is impoverished by their presence. They do not constitute, as European immigrants do, an addition to the industrial element; on the contrary, they are substitutes and supplanters, every one of them who obtains employment taking the place of a white man, and depriving him of work. China can spare from her teeming population a hundred millions of people who can live on wages on which a white man would starve. And if the influx should receive no check, there would be no work left in mine, or workshop, or factory for the children of the soil."

There is a substantial unanimity among Pacific-Coast newspapers on this subject. The *Bulletin*, *Examiner*, *Post*, and all the interior press, have ranged themselves on the same side as the journals from which extracts have been given. Even the *Alta California*, which is

regarded as the organ of capital, is opposed to Chinese immigration as an abstract proposition. The *Argonaut*, while fighting the pronounced opponents of Chinese immigration, makes the following admission: "Good men here of all denominations, and good men who belong to none, would kindly treat and honorably deal with the Chinese among us, would protect them in their lives and pursuits, but would desire in all proper legal ways to discourage their larger immigration."

A paper in the March number of the *Californian*, contributed by General John F. Miller, discusses this question of two civilizations so forcibly that we cannot better represent the best Californian opinion on this subject than by borrowing from its pages. After stating that the Chinese civilization remains unimpressible to the influence of American civilization after thirty years of contact, Mr. Miller says:

"These questions here arise: If we continue to admit this immigration until the Chinese form a considerable part of our population, what impression will they make upon the American people? And what will be the effect on Anglo-Saxon civilization? Can the two civilizations endure side by side as two separate forces? If not, which will predominate? When the end comes for one or the other, which will be found to have survived? All these queries presuppose that the present unique experiment will be permitted to proceed. But it is not probable that the American will abandon his civilization and adopt that of the Chinese. It is quite as impossible for him to become such a man as the Chinaman is, as it is improbable that the Chinaman will become such as the American is."

In the same excellent paper Mr. Miller says: "Practically, China is the great slave-pen from whence laborers for this country are being drawn; and there are myriads now ready, and only stand waiting for the beck and sign of Chinese chiefs, to come and toil like galley-slaves, for wages upon which an American laborer would starve. Even here, in this sparsely-settled region, successful competition by white men, either as laborers or as proprietors, is found to be impracticable in all the employments and industries involving manual labor in which the test has been made, and particularly in all light employments hitherto filled by young people. The immediate effect of this is seen in the tardy increase of our white population. The ratio of increase is not now equal to that of natural increase without the aid of immigration. White immigration to California has ceased, or if not entirely stopped, it is more than balanced by emigration. It is open to observation that thousands of our white laborers are quitting California to escape Chinese competition, and are moving upon the Northern Territories, where few Chinamen have yet penetrated: for the Chinaman is not that fearless pioneer who first subdues the forest, or makes the desolate plain to blossom. He waits till others have won the conquest of nature, and then he comes and thrives in the contact with other men. This process of the displacement of the Caucasians and the planting of the Chinese instead, has here begun, and it is going on, slowly it may be, but steadily, with that silent, inexorable movement of time. And this process will continue until a crisis is reached and passed, and a new departure is made in our civil policy as respects immigration."

The turning point has been reached. The determined attitude of California has checked immigration and caused the migration of some thousands to Eastern cities. The East will not tolerate them as long as we, since they have the remedy in their own hands. A treaty which exposes our people to such degrading competition, will fall beneath the condemnation of a people who have never yet been found wanting in courage to protect their rights and homes.

8

THE
Cholera in San Francisco.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF CORRUPTION IN CALIFORNIA.

BY

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Published by The San Francisco News Company.

San Francisco, 1885.

J. Dammann & Co., Printers, 535 California Street.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The epidemics of the past are not the epidemics of the present age, and those of the present age will not be the epidemics of the future. But although the different ages of history have witnessed different epidemics, yet the new epidemics are not less formidable and not less deadly than the old ones. On the contrary, the change which takes place in epidemics, has only the effect of placing mankind in front of a new enemy whose peculiarities they are not acquainted with, having to study them first before being able to combat them efficiently.

In 1817 the "Cholera asiatica" for the first time left its original home in the East Indies to undertake its ravaging raids throughout Asia and afterwards, by way of Europe (1830—1831), to take a trip to America. The years of 1817, 1830, 49, 50, 54, 65, 66 and 1884 form black-edged pages in history as "Cholera-Years".

Last year, the terrible scourge ravaged the southern parts of Europe; thousands upon thousands became its victims, in spite of all the precautions taken, in spite of all the means of opposing it which Science in our century affords. Winter came and with it the terrible destroyer disappeared. Yet it only disappeared to present itself again with the heats of summer and to recommence its cruel work. The news from Spain where the murderous enemy has resumed its destructive activity, is increasing daily in its horrible details: the miseries in the localities infected by the disease are beyond all description.

But the "Cholera asiatica" is fond of long trips; it is fond of jumping all at once from one spot to the other on our globe and of changing the theater of its murderous performances.

Although Science may not be able yet to fight this disease effectively, she has nevertheless advanced far enough to predict with a certain degree of probability the road "Cholera" will take in its peregrinations. The greatest medical wiseacres tell us, that the cholera in this summer or the next will cross the Ocean and celebrate its entry into New York City. And if those evil prophesies should prove true—what about San Francisco then?

Cholera can nestle only THERE where it meets with certain predetermined conditions for its nest. The chief condition is DIRT, the dirt on the body of man, the dirt in the water he drinks, the dirt in the air he breathes.

If we review the Cities of the world to find out which one of them is most apt to comply with the preliminary conditions for "Cholera",—San Francisco is certainly at the top of all ill-omened cities. And yet, there is hardly one city in the world enjoying a healthier location: fresh breezes sweep the city, purify the air, mitigate the action of the sun's rays. But there are places in San Francisco where air and breezes and sun's rays never penetrate; not only scattered places here and there, but a whole section of the City which shelters 30,000 human beings. The subterranean Chinese quarter of San Francisco is a nest which for tens of years has been carefully prepared and feathered and bolstered up for Cholera. It is ready now and Cholera may come.

If the prediction of the greatest medical authorities should be fulfilled: if the terrible scourge should appear in New York: there is no protection which would be of any

avail for us. Quarantine can never be enforced with sufficient severity to render it an absolute safeguard.

It would be impossible to oppose the spread of the disease from the East to the Western States. In our country, the Dollar is mightier than anything else : the Dollar would break all quarantine. Moreover, San Francisco is situated in a locality so accessible from all sides, its overland-traffic with the Eastern States is so immense, that quarantine would not offer any security, even if we had the most reliable, the most honest and the most incorruptible public officers.

Many of the principal cities of the United States have acknowledged the importance of this danger and have taken already precautionary measures—but San Francisco is slumbering in unconscious innocence.

This carelessness results from the idea—very erroneous, although unfortunately shared by many—that the healthy location of the City protects it from all such dangers. But the defect in this reasoning is : that there are TWO cities in San Francisco, the one ABOVE ground and the other UNDER ground. And though "above ground San Francisco" were a paradise, the underground hell would transform it into a hell.

It is impossible that the healthy location of ABOVE ground San Francisco could have any salutary reaction on the Chinese quarter UNDER ground ; for the sunbeams that shine on us don't penetrate 50 feet deep into the pestilential dens of the Chinese population, and the fresh breezes which purify the air of our streets and our houses, leave the sepulchres untouched in which for 30 years foul and disgusting vapors have been gathering.

But yet : the beings which are born in these pestilential dens and who are vegetating in them, will show themselves,

will commingle with us, will come in contact with us, carrying the germs of destructive, horrible disease into our peacable dwellings.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHOLERA *ANTE PORTAS.*

A circular entitled "Facts for the People Concerning Cholera" has been issued by the State Board of Health, from which the following extracts are taken :

"The Legislature of the State of California during its last session, 1885, having, with the utmost indifference to the sanitary welfare of the people, in utter disregard of the suggestion offered by his Excellency Governor Stoneman in his biennial message and equally regardless of the importunities of the State Board of Health, refused to appropriate a single dollar to protect the State from the invasion of infectious or contagious diseases; therefore, in view of the possibility, or rather the probability, of Cholera extending its ravages to the Pacific Coast this summer, the State Board of Health deemed it prudent to offer to the public a few words of warning as to the necessity of the early employment of sanitary measures, to arrest the development of disease or mitigate its virulence, if, unfortunately, it should appear among us."

"What can be done in the way of prevention locally? Much may be done if the officers of health, or the properly constituted authorities, do their duty.' Cholera is a preventable disease; its habitat is among the crowd; it revels in filth and decomposing organisms, but failing to find suitable conditions for its growth and maintainance it dies out. Consequently, the very first thing to be done is for each individual to see that his house, outhouse and yard are put into a good sanitary condition. Do

not wait for any health officer ; see to it yourself. Have your drains cleaned out and flushed with water ; your privy or cesspool emptied and disinfected immediately. See that your cellar is cleared of all decaying substances, have it thoroughly whitewashed, and all filth, rags, etc., burned. If you have a well see that the water thereof is not contaminated by drainage from the house or outhouses. If you have the slightest suspicion that it is, boil the water before using, or, better still, shut up that well and dig another away from all chance of such contamination. If you use river water, which is always more or less polluted, see that it is boiled before drinking it, and you will save your health for the trouble. Avoid crowding in sleeping-rooms. See that each room is properly ventilated, nothing being so conducive to disease as an over-crowded and ill-ventilated apartment. Plenty of fresh, pure air, pure water and wholesome food, with household and personal cleanliness, will do more to prevent the access of cholera to your dwelling than all the applications of the credulous or the nostrums of the charlatan. While there is danger of cholera, or, indeed, any epidemic disease, developing in your midst, it is an act of prudence to avoid excessive fatigue from any source, as the system, when tired or exhausted, is much more liable to infection and less able to resist it than in other conditions. It is also indispensable that the stomach and bowels be kept in a healthy state by avoiding all unripe fruit, decaying vegetables, fish, flesh or any food that is not perfectly sweet and fresh. Temperance in all things should be enjoined, and especially in alcoholic beverages, as it is found by experience that the intemperate or those addicted to drinking intoxicating fluids habitually, are the first to die in an epidemic of cholera. Nature knows no mercy in dealing with the violators of nature's laws ; if her laws are transgressed

the punishment is swift and certain. Food should not be kept in the same room with the sick from any infectious disease; neither should that unconsumed by the sick be used by others, but either burned or disposed of in some other equally safe way.

The monthly circular of the California State Board of Health for March remarks as follows:

As we may look with confidence for the advent of cholera and perhaps yellow fever, into the State this Summer, the Legislature, at its last session, having with reckless indifference to the sanitary welfare of the people refused to appropriate a single dollar for the purpose of arresting these infectious diseases, it would be well if the medical men of each town or village, having no Board of Health or health officer, insisted upon the authorities appointing a proper officer to make a house-to-house inspection, with a view of having privies and cesspools emptied and disinfected, cellars cleansed and whitewashed, filth and garbage collected and buried and the purity of the drinking water ascertained. Sanitary measures enforced now, and maintained, will save thousands of lives which otherwise, of necessity, must be sacrificed.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHINESE QUARTERS.

If our "Friends of the Chinaman" would take the trouble one day of visiting him themselves in his dens, they would be soon cured of all doubt with regard to the only correct solution of the Chinese question. But most of these gentlemen were never in such dens where death and perdition stare from every corner. They talk with irresponsible levity about a subject which they are unable even to understand in its gravity.

I ask my readers to accompany me to those horrible subterranean spaces, extending under the streets of San Francisco and concealing some 30,000 human beings in there recesses.

I have visited Chinatown repeatedly, not from mere curiosity, but to know this abode of terror in its entire nature.

It happened to be Chinese newyear's-day. I wanted to overhear the tiny people in their newyear's enjoyments. Such a people who is apt to bring down a nation of free American citizens to oppressing servitude, ought to be at least an uncommonly elevated one, and so it was worth while to spend a newyear's night with them!

In the office of our Chief of Police a detective was placed at my disposal.

The way was along Kearney street. Every place in Washington, Commercial and Sacramento streets was brilliantly lighted with bright lanterns. Through the windows came the reflection of the interior illumination and every now and then a rocket shot up in the air and sparkled in the sky. The nearer one approached Chinatown the greater the noise. Gongs, drums and fifes made an infernal din and together with the racket and clatter of fireworks did their best to inform the Chinese devil that New Year had come and that he must leave the city. And in truth, if the Chinese devil posseses any nerves, he cannot withstand this hint and hurries away as far as he can in order to reach some spot beyond the possibility of hearing the awful noise. Crowds were moving in the streets and it was only with great difficulty that one could proceed in any direction. Among the queued Chinamen elegant ladies were pushing their way as well as the representatives of all nations, from all quarters of the globe. A continual chattering of Chinese, English,

German, Japanese, Spanish, French, Italian, and what not filled the air, and as each one tried to speak as loud as he could, in order to be heard, the tenderest conversation degenerated into screaming. Along the sidewalks were placed the wooden tables of the Chinese merchants, upon which were displayed the queerest Chinese fruits, candies, clothes, shoes, sugarcane, and the Chinese lily was everywhere for sale, a flower so beautiful and tender that we regret it should come from China. No Chinese household can dispens with this luck bringing flower on New Year, and when once a year in February it opens its buds, it is carried in the house and carefully attended to until its blossoms are faded.

"In 1858 Sacramento street was all inhabited by white people," remarked the Detective. "Then came the Chinese and settled in the neighborhood. Day and night they set off their fireworks and made such a noise that white people were obliged to leave their quarters."

At these words the police officer pulled out a lantern and lighted it. He went down a dark stairway, opened a dirty, low door and a disagreeable air struck the face of the entering visitor. From the depth below shone the feeble light of a fire, which dimly illuminated the steps of the rotten stairway. In even intervals the sound of the water drops falling from the walls made itself heard. The whole space was impregnated with vapors, which were so penetrating that even the eyes were painfully effected. Yet a Chinese monster that was squatting near the fire, seemed to need nothing like oxygen for his lungs; at all events he looked happy and screeched some Chinese crow like melodies.

On both sides of the long corridor there were dens in which animals could hardly exist, but in which Chinamen slept by the dozen. The spaces are perhaps 8 feet square and 6 feet high. Berths are fastened to the wall, one

over the other up to the ceiling. Human forms were lying upon every one of these berths; half naked men, women, girls and children — all comingled animal-like in a variegated crowd. They seemed to be lost in a dream and blew out mechanically clouds of smoke from their opium pipes. They were as dumb as stones and scarcely noticed the appearance of the strangers. The deathly pale faces showed no interest in the realities of life.

The atmosphere in these quarters was as dense as heavy fog and through the mist could be seen a delicate, white lily, which was to bring luck to the monsters of this misty cave.

The detective opened a small, smoke-blackened door. In a corner of the room a fire was burning upon an iron stand; over it hung a kettle in which some sort of witch broth was cooking. Upon a bunk, all in a heap, was a being, which by the clothes it wore should have been a Chinese woman. In one hand it held a large black cat, that surveyed the visitors with fiery eyes, with the other it held a string to which was tied a small melancholy looking dog. Another being was in the corner near the fire. This creature laughed at the strangers in a stupid way, blinked his half closed eyes, every now and then spitting on the fire, or into the witch broth.

The atmosphere in this story consisted of all possible exhalations which had accumulated for many past decades. The walls of the passage were covered by about five inches of soot and dirt. A peculiar whizz announced the fermenting activity of this decaying crush. The feet would sink down in the dirt of the ground. Between the walls and the floor lay a stratum filled with the germs of the most dreadful deseases.

The stairway led still further down on three of these subterranean habitations. "Now we are on the fourth and

last level," said the policeman. "We are now 45 feet below the street. In these four stories we just went through about 600 Chinese are living. No fresh air can penetrate here; every day the fire is made in the fireplaces but the smoke can not go out and must scatter in the place itself."

The policeman opened a door. "Hallo, boys!" he called out, "how goes it?" He grasped the hand of a being, which upon closer inspection, turned out to be a real man. The face of this creatur had acquired through quatting and all sorts of deseases, the appearance of a — well, the comparison is difficult to find. No Orang Utang ever looked so brutish as this Chinaman. The female help mate of this "image of God" was resting upon a bed and played with several cats, which allowed their bumped back to be stroked. From the smoke-blackened ceiling hung the blossoming lily.

The police officer drew from his pocket a five cent piece which he put in the hand of the Chinaman. "Happy New Year," said he and went on while he ascended the steps: "A happy family. I have known these people these five years. The man is a cook in an American family."

But the vapor became insufferable; even the light of the small waxcandles seemed to think so and burned slimly and uncertain. I mounted the stairs as rapidly as I could, to get out o this subterranean grave. Finally the noise of the street was heard again and soon the outlet of this four-story plague-cave was reached. The air of Dupont street is notoriously more or less impregnated with bacilli, fungi and stench, yet it seemed extremely pure in comparison with the vapors of thirty years of the cave.

The way now led along the street to a so-called lodging house. "This house was formerly a Baptist Church," the detective informed me. "About 1600 Chinese are now liv-

ing in this building." In the yard which were in the middle of the house, there was a watertank; near it was placed the waterclosets and between these two most indispensable institutions stood the kitchen. The latter consisted of some iron frames upon which the cooking utensils were placed over a fire.

From this lodging house there are communications over the roofs of houses in all directions. All the houses of Chinatown are connected either by underground ways or by paths over the roofs. The Chinese quarter is like a gopher mound; everywhere cross-passages and hiding corners. It is impossible to get hold of a criminal, who has taken shelter among the Chinese, and even on this ground the Chinese quarters are a great danger to city and county.

After walking for some time upon the roofs, the detective led me down a dark stairway. "Now I will take you to a place which surpasses in horror all that you have seen." After leading me through some filthy streets, he turned into a dark alley in which there where only miserable, old, fallen huts.

Before one of these miserable buildings the detective stopped. He lighted his lantern and untied a string with which the rotten door was fastened. A peculiar noise was heard. It sounded like sighing and groaning, and made a painfull impression in the semi-obscurity which was only broken by the light of the lantern and of the stars, which were glittering through the cracks of the ceiling. As soon as the eye had accustomed itself to the darkness, one could distinguish against the wall a bunk upon which a human being lay groaning.

"We are here in the chamber of the dying Chinese," said the detective. "The Chinese are so superstitious that they do not permit any one to die in his own house.

They believe that the deceased returns to the same spot in which he died, and that there he carries on all sorts of evil. On account of this they bring their patients who are on the point of death to this house."

Upon their bunks two human beings, a man and a woman, were tossing. The woman evidently seemed to be suffering great pain, for she groaned most pitiously. The man had already passed the worst stage. His eyes were closed; foam covered his mouth, and from his breast came a fearful hollow rattle.

Here lay these two unfortunates in the last agony. No friendly hand cared for them, none assisted them in the last hour. Here they lay exposed to the caprices of chilling rain and howling storm.

Before the bunks stood upon wooden stools cups with the all-healing tea. But the patients were too weak to stretch out their hand for the drink of life. There they lay to die like dogs.

No, not like dogs.

We seek to assist a dying dog and to mitigate his sufferings. If a dog bleeds, another comes to lick his wound. No beast is so completely brutish as the Chinamen, no animal is so little capable of noble feelings as these favorites of some American rascals. In the dying chamber large boxes stood against the wall. "What is that?" I asked. "Those are coffins," was the laconic answer of the detective.

Ah, coffins! The Chinese let their patients die near the coffins which are intended to contain their bones, and when the patient is struggling with death, when he raises his eyes for the last time in order to take leave of this earth, then his fading sight meets with no face of a dear, of a weeping friend, but the black form of his coffin.

There would be no end to the experiences of the visitors in Chinatown. But with fearful clearness the danger becomes apparent which is threatening the inhabitants of San Francisco, with fearful clearness the enormity of the crime of the so-called "Chinaman's friends."

Nor must we forget that the police officers who take strangers through Chinatown very wisely select only the best localities in order to limit the effects produced. For a great number of the detectives live upon the hush-money obtained from the Chinese; and the inhabitants of San Francisco would very soon abolish the Chinese quarter and therewith the source of profits of those miserable officers, if they had a mere inkling of the horrible reality.

It was with intention I only described such horrors of Chinatown as any stranger may see daily with his own eyes; I have been silent about all that hides itself from the eyes of superficial observers. I have not led my readers through the subterranean cemeteries where the rats are nibbling at Chinese corpses. I don't wish to give even a pretext for suspecting me of exaggeration.

Yet I believe that the facts which I have represented and which any stranger may verify with his own eyes, will arouse the reader's horror about those caves of human beasts, — but at the same time also his horror at the impudent and criminal wickedness of those who call themselves the "Chinaman's friends," and at the inconceivable levity of the inhabitants af this City who tolerate the existence of this subterranean pool of damnation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHOLERA IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The preceeding chapters have proved to the readers that all those who are competent in the matter, feel con-

vinced that the Cholera will reach the United States in this summer or the next. Any one who has the necessary medical knowledge is well aware of the utter insufficiency of quarantines as an absolute protection, even when managed with all possible stringency. Epidemics travel on the wings of the air against which there is no quarantine.

But he who has even the remotest idea of our political circumstances, knows perfectly well, that on account of the general corruption that prevails among our office-holders, a real quarantine is quite as impossible as to attempt to empty the ocean by means of a sieve.

Supposing now the awful prophecy of medical Scientists should come to be fulfilled, the cholera should hold his entrance into New York and from there should continue its murderous path to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, — what will become then of San Francisco?

At the time already when the Italian Opera threw its inhabitants into an undefinable state of intoxication, — at that time already a warning voice sounded threatening from the East: "Prepare yourself, the Cholera is coming!"

Nobody listened to that voice, nobody seemed to have time nor a will to pay any attention to that terrible warning. All attention was bestowed on the Italian comedians and everything else, schools, education and — Cholera was forgotten. The Italian Opera left the city, loaded down with treasures. "Prepare yourselves, the Cholera is coming!" the warning voice was raised again, but nobody listened to it; the legislature too had no ear for it.

"Prepare yourselves, the Cholera is coming!" is the cry which even now is resounding from over the ocean with daily increasing awe — but in vain, people hasten to the bathing places to amuse themselves, to jest and to trifle.

And if one day a voice should be heard: "There I am,

now tremble, for I am the Cholera!" — what then? What then about the golden city of San Francisco and her light-hearted inhabitants?

My readers, who in their minds have accompanied me into the depths of subterranean Chinatown, won't repeat the foolish objection: "The Cholera can't find a nest here!" Never a nest has been more systematically fitted up than that in San Francisco. Never intelligent men have consented to the construction of such an immense hearth of infection as the inhabitants of San Francisco have done.

The Cholera kills within half an hour. As soon as one Chinaman is taken sick in his subterranean den, his whole neighborhood is doomed without rescue; for Cholera is transferred without mercy to any one living under conditions which allow the Bacilli to develop their vitality. One single act of breathing, one invisible atom entering the lungs is equivalent to infection and death.

As soon as one Chinaman is taken sick, the epidemic rushes on like a raging conflagration in the woods and hundreds have succumbed to the scourge before over-ground San Francisco has the least suspicion of it. The Chinese quarter in San Francisco escapes from the control of the police authorities as well as of all other authorities. But supposing even that the authorities should be informed of the appearance of Cholera, would that change the situation in any material degree?

Who will descent into the hellish pit, having the certainty of meeting there with death and destruction? I saw one day a Chinese leper, blind and half-rotten already, about noon-time on Kearney street.

His appearance being horrible beyond measure, I requested a policeman to remove the Chinaman from the street. "Sir," answered the policman, "if it were my duty

to approach this being even within 50 yards, I would tear off my star this very moment and rather starve to death than be a policeman any longer."

Who will descent into the subterranean catacombs of the Chinese to become a victim of Cholera even before seeing the light of the day again?

Have we any nurses for the sick? But who will volunteer to confront sure death? Who is inspired here with enough humanity to throw away his own life for the sake of a good cause? Who is miserable enough to exchange certain death for any amount of high salary?

In Europe, the soldiery was requested to furnish the necessary number of nurses, or rather, the soldiers were ordered to do the service. Imagine what would happen if our gallant soldiers in this country were to be transformed into nurses? How many of them would obey the command? Wouldn't such an order be equivalent to general desertion?

Have we doctors? Science is almost powerless when dealing with this terrible epidemic. SCIENCE, we say. But how many representatives of medical Science are there in San Francisco? Most American doctors have passed their examination within a couple of years and then devote themselves to what is called medical practice, an occupation which might be appropriately called quackery. The number of doctors is immense in this city, but A PHYSICIAN is seldom to be met with.

Have we hospitals? Supposing for a moment the doctors and nurses are forthcoming, the authorities in a position to remove the Chinese out of their dens, where provide for the immense number of the sick? For it would be immense. And not only the Chinese themselves would become the victims of the scourge, but many an American who until now used to stretch his protecting hand out over those

Chinese, who has helped in this way to built up the home of infection, who has in fact made himself an accomplice of the awful crime. He too will find himself on the stretcher, seeing his wife, his children, his friends dying around him.

What is to become of the dead? To burn the corpses of 30,000 Chinamen — where are room and time for that, where the workers to be found, who will devote themselves to this ghastly task?

But all the above optimistic suppositions are entirely inconsistent with reality. For even though we had the necessary doctors, nurses and hospitals, the authorities would never be able to get the diseased out of their dens, for the simple reason that the authorities themselves are in total ignorance of real Chinatown, its hundreds of alleys, recesses and dwellingplaces being entirely inaccessible.

How utterly powerless the city authorities are in face of the Chinaman's labyrinthian abode, appears with appalling lucidity from the fact that criminals who take their refuge in Chinatown, have always made good their escape from the hands of justice. During the last three years four Chinese murderers have sought and found there an asylum and only as late as in the last month of May the Chief of Police of San Francisco applied humbly to the Chinese Consul to assist him in the apprehension of Frank Dempsey's assassin, finding himself powerless in the Chinese labyrinth!

This simple consideration shows that no power on earth would be in a position to successfully combat the terrible scourge if it should make its entry here.

I leave it with my readers to finish this brief picture in its details. In a short time under-ground and over-ground San Francisco would be turned into an immense grave from

whose bottom the wailing of the sick, the moaning of the dying would resound to the heavens as a music never heard before.

Whoever considers without prejudice and without determination to deny and contradict under all circumstances, the above mentioned relations and facts will conclude with me that if San Francisco is visited by the Cholera, it will be all over with the Golden City in the Paradise of California.

It is by no means my intention to create fear and anxiety, for fear and anxiety are the very means of increasing the danger. Yet I would strongly protest against the criminal indifference with which the inhabitants of San Francisco smilingly look at the approach of the frightful danger.

No one can tell whether the evil prognostications of the physicians will be verified in the course of this year. Perhaps a kind providence will hold the danger in abeyance, thus giving us time to prepare for it.

We hope that destiny has more pity for us than we feel for ourselves. We hope that the warning which reaches us in mournful sounds from Spain is as yet in good season for ample preparation. If the intervening time, however, should be neglected, if it should not be taken advantage of, then the fatal, THE MURDERING DISEASE will surely fall in the midst of us in a short time, and will realize descriptions which have no parallel in history.

Aside from the danger that the Cholera or any other equally frightful plague may be smuggled into San Francisco, this is the place in which their germs are fermenting in filth and dirt and need but the opportunity to become active and living.

The pestilential condition of the Chinese quarters in the midst of the city is not the only permanent, self-sustain-

ing source in favor of the development of Cholera; there are other combinations equally unheard of, equally phenomenal.

In citys, situated in a healthy location and kept in a thoroughly clean condition, Cholera has been known to break out, caused exclusively by bad drinkingwater. And now let us consider that the Spring Valley Water Co. which supplies San Francisco with drinkingwater, draws a portion of this water from Lake Merced, which lies at the foot of a burying ground, 300 acres in extent.

On the 15th of April 1885, the San Francisco EXAMINER published the following report, the details of which are fully proven and credited:

The community will, no doubt, be startled upon learning that a graveyard has been opened by the Catholic Church authorities in the vicinity of Lake Merced, from which much of San Francisco's water supply is drawn. Already seven bodies have been buried there.

Rev. Father Peter J. Grey, rector of St. Patrick's Church, was called upon yesterday and gave the following information to an EXAMINER reporter: "In 1868, Archbishop Alemany bought for the church the undivided 300 acres of the Rancho Laguna de la Merced, better known as the Mahoney Ranch. The purchase was made through the Hibernia Savings and Loan Society, which held a large mortgage on the property. The land bought by the Bishop is situated along the southerly line of the range adjoining the ocean. Subsequently forty-seven acres were bought to the southwest of the ranch, bringing the land clear to the ocean in the possesion of the church."

BOUGHT FOR A CEMETERY.

"Was the object of the purchase known at the time?"

"Certainly. It was well understood that the land was

to be used for a burying-ground. We have forty acres in Calvary Cemetery and there is no available space left there for the dead. It was the intention of the Bishop in purchasing this land to obtain sufficient ground for the necessities and requirements of a cemetery for all time to come. The location seemed to be exceedingly proper for a cemetery, beeing about seven miles from the city and outside of this county. The Southern Pacific Railroad runs along the eastern line of the cemetery and the transportation of bodies would be greatly facilitated."

"Will the new burying-place be brought into use soon?"

"We have buried seven bodies there already. Calvary Cemetery is full, and all the plots will be sold befor the end of this year. We intend having the place near Lake Merced surveyed and laid out within a few months and be ready in case of an emergency. We expect to be obliged to open the ground for general use within a year, or probably sooner."

"What was the price paid for the land?"

"We paid $500 per acre for 300 acres. Figuring the interest on the capital and the necessary improvements to be made, the costs will foot up nearly half a million of dollars."

TRANSPORTING THE CORPSES.

"Has the railroad company made any advances to you for the transportation of bodies?"

"Yes. In 1870 the Southern Pacific Railroad Company made us a proposition to build sheds and supply the necessary cars for the transportation of corpses. They said they would charge only a nominal sum and run a branch line, connecting directly with the entrance to the cemetery. We had no immediate use for the grounds, and no arrange-

ments were made. We have now, however, been in correspondence with the Market and Mission-street railroads to ascertain, upon what terms they would transport the bodies from a given point to the new cemetery, but no satisfactory arrangements have as yet been made."

"Is the ground located in near proximity to Lake Merced from which the water is pumped by the Spring Valley Water Works?"

"Certainly; within a half to three-quarters of a mile from the lake. The water now being pumped is all obtained from the Mahoney ranch. It comes from the hills and runs into a little gulch, which divides the cemetery and oozes into the ground, and thence to the lake. So you can see that the water from the cemetery is pumped from the lake for drinking purposes."

"What will be the effect upon the consumers?"

"They will drink poisonous water. We do not want to interfere at all with the sanitary condition of the city or the health of the residents, but we bought the land for the purposes indicated and could not find a suitable location anywhere else in the surrounding country."

THE CHURCH BOUGHT FIRST.

"When did the Spring Valley Water Company buy their property?"

"Long after us. I think only a few years ago. They bought One Thousend and Three Hundred acres. They knew perfecly well that we had bought our tract to locate a cemetery there. Our purchase was accomplished long before the Spring Valley had any idea of buying the lake and surrounding land."

"What will be the outcome of this?"

"I do not know. It was perfectly understood, long before the Spring Valley commenced pumping, that our ground

was to be utilized as a cemetery. The result may be serious if the water is used for drinking purposes. We will be willing to do anything for the public health and welfare, but it is impossible to find another and as suitable a location for a cemetery."

This conversation caused great sensation at the time. The papers made much noise about it, but the excitement gradually subsided and the noise ceased. The City Council which had displayed great zeal at first towards acting in the matter, finally sent, in the middle of June, two of its members as a "Committee" upon the spot to commence investigations. Meanwhile about two months had passed away; the sensational, scandalous suits Hill-Sharon, etc., monopolized public interest and all else was completely forgotten.

On a beautiful Sunday afternoon the two city councillors started for their destination, pretented to axamine and investigate the cemetery for two hours and then returned. And what was their report? That the cemetery is situated upon hills which slope toward the ocean, and that consequently the water of the burying ground can not flow down in the lake, nor have any effect upon the waters of the same.

These gentlemen, therefore, devote to the investigation of this all important quetion two full hours and become thoroughly convinced in this time, that all springs, wether surface or subterranean, that exist in the cemetery, flow exclusively into the sea.

The people felt no interest in this report, for the proceedings in the Spreckels suit had reached its culminating point; in addition to this, the sensational suits against the millionaires Baldwin and Hastings were on the eve of being laid before the people.

The natural consequence of this report will be, that the

cemetery near Lake Merced will undoubtedly be used for the burying of corpses, and gradually the drinkingwater of the lake will change into deathly poisonous, disgusting broth of dead bodies.

Can we say now that San Francisco is no place for Cholera?

The denizens of San Francisco. who pride themselves upon the healthy situation of their city, should remember, that only in the month of June 1885 did the city supervisors recognize the fact, that in the sewers of the city many thousand cubic feet of slime had become hard and consolidated. Despite the increase of danger through this condition of things, the city council has refused to take any action, for it needs the few thousand dollars required for cleaning and flushing the sewers for other more important objects.

And San Francisco is no place for Cholera, eh? Notice also that the lack of work and scarcity of food of a great portion of the population render the mass of the people especially apt for any epidemic.

The number of laborers without work or employment in San Francisco at the present time is estimated at least at 10,000. They suffer hunger with their families and live scantily on crumbs that are left from the table of the rich.

Are all these poor, hungry, starving beings strong enough to withstand the attacks of the fatal plague? If even the Chinese quarters were completely segregated from the rest of the city, if the white population were to avoid any and all intercourse with the frequenters of the pestilential cellars, even then would the danger from normal causes still be frightful.

As matters really stand, however, thousand, nay, ten thousand families stand in immediate intercourse with the brooding spot of pestilential germs. Thousands of China-

men are employed as servants and cooks in American hotels and families, in the evening they go down into the underground cellars, gamble and smoke and give themselves up to all the brutish vices at which the are adepts — and then they return to the chamber of the lady, to the cooking utensils of the kitchen and spread the nanseous poison which they carry with them. Thousands of families send their clothes to Chinese washhouses; they all know that in Chinese laundries the germs of leprosy and plague are lurking; they know the danger but bid defiance to it in their frantic greed, to save a few cents. Everywhere we come in contact with Mongolians. The piece of money that we take may convey the loathsome contagion, it may be the messenger of death. A seat in a city-car or the resting in any public place may bring misery and ruin.

Everywhere Chinamen and Chinese poison.

Yet, San Francisco sleeps, sleeps as calmly as a child in the lap of its mother.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION.

San Francisco sleeps, yet not upon the lap of a watchful mother, but upon a boiling vulcano.

May God grant that San Francisco shall wake up before the flame breaks out and scatters destruction all around.

When a weak bird is robbed of her nest, she defends herself and flaps her little wings until her strength forsakes her. But the inhabitants of San Francisco give to the world the unheard of example of allowing their city to be robbed of her just finished nest without making even the slightest attempt at resistance.

The Mongolians are not the most culpable ones. They only take advantage of the opportunities offered them. They

have no love for our children, for our country, for our native city San Francisco. It is not their duty to protect us if we do not know how to protect ourselves.

We are alone guilty. We have wise laws, which forbid Chinese immigration, wise laws which condemn unequirocally the existence af a plague breeding herd like that of the Mongolians. But the law is here a dead letter; there is here but one law and that is: the Almighty Dollar. In clear and plain words: the Dollar in California has brought about an arbitrary power, an anarchy, which can hardly find a parallel in the annals of history. The Dollar is honor, power and law, the Dollar decides upon life and death.

The fearful consequence of this corruption is the Chinese nuisance in California. For a small compensation a crowd of judges, lawyers, policemen, employees of all kinds will rush forward to the assistance of the Chinaman trampling under foot right and law.

And thus the officers become rich and powerful, but the people, the state, our country are led to certain destruction. Fleeing mayors, thievish supervisors, corrupt school directors — these form an excellent picture in the thrice paid but never finished ruins called the New City Hall.

Corruption everywhere!

So long as this corruption hurts no one but the inhabitants of San Francisco and the population of California, then singular people may allow themselves to be led to destruction by miserable rascals. But the Chinese quarters in San Francisco are a danger reaching far beyond the limits of California; they are a danger for the whole United States, for the whole world.

This is the western birthplace of Cholera and of frightful epidemics, here the germs are fermenting in the slime and only await the breath of the wind to be fertilized.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands of beings infected by leprosy are living here, who keep up continual intercourse with the masses of the people without hindrance or control. And yet it is the duty of the United States to destroy such nests of pestilence; it is the duty of the whole world to step forward against the mad indifference of the population of San Francisco in order to put an end to it before it is too late.

Before it is too late!

Ye fathers of families, see to your wives and children; see how they trust to you in their innocence, how they consider themselves safe under the protection of husband and father. Do not deceive them and act before it is too late!

I do not belong to the fanatical class of men who think that the waste and ruin of years can be mended in one day. I am no friend of Dynamite; nor do I approve the shedding of innocent blood. But I am a friend of the law and an admirer of the great Republic whose establishment cost so much blood, labor and time!

Maybe there are yet men enough in California who possess sufficient judgment, courage and patriotism to prepare for the dreadful danger, not with brutal force, but with law in hand and philanthropy in heart. Should such men be lacking, San Francisco will sooner or later be a prey to the fate she deserves — Destruction and Devastation.

9

THE CONFLICT OF RACES

The Migration of the Manufacturing Industries of the United States and Europe

TO THE

EASTERN SHORES OF ASIA.

The spread of Opium Smoking, Leprosy and other Imported Evils.

BY

WASHINGTON M. RYER, M. D.

San Francisco, Cal.

P. J. THOMAS, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER,
505 Clay Street,
1886.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

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THE CONFLICT OF RACES.

Asiatic Labor.—Its Relations to the Manufactures of the United States and Europe.—The Pro-Chinese Press.

THE Managing Editors of the greater number of papers published in the States east of the Rocky Mountains, have not themselves, nor have they permitted correspondents to spread before the readers of their papers, an impartial statement of the strife between Mongolian and white labor.

If there are any persons who believe that they will give both sides an equal showing in the columns of their papers, let such persons write an article and head it thus: "*Another murder of innocent Chinamen! Their houses burned and their property stolen! All the Chinamen are driven by a mob from the town without an hour's notice! Hoodlums rioting among the ruins! Outrages upon a docile and harmless people!*"

Under these or other startling headings let the writer exaggerate to his fullest capacity, even to the extent that truth may be left so far behind as to be out of sight.

When this article is long enough and horrible enough to suit Eastern prejudice, let it be sent to any editor in the Atlantic States, and it will certainly appear in his paper the day after its receipt accompanied by an editorial calling upon the whole National force to put an end to such violence.

On the other hand, let these same persons write an article as carefully as possible, to avoid all expressions likely to offend the readers of the paper, and in the article set forth: that, by reason of the existence of the many Chinese wash-houses in the towns of the Pacific States, poor women who are accustomed to earn their living by washing clothes, can get no employment and are now in a condition of want approaching starvation:

That, because of Chinamen having superior strength and not being subjected to the infirmities peculiar to womanhood, and their being accustomed to a cheap mode of living, they have been enabled to underwork women in all that may be done with the sewing machine:

That Chinamen have taken the places of women in almost every factory:

That they have taken the place of women in the kitchen, and even to the work of the chambermaid:

That, therefore, having had the occupations which have heretofore supported these women in a respectable manner taken from them, there now remains for them a life of want and deprivation, or a life of disgrace and shame:

That Chinamen have taken the place of white men in the cotton, silk, woolen and other mills:

That they have thrown out of employment, by taking their places, men who have learned the tinner's, shoemaker's, cigar, broom-making, tailor's, tanner's and other trades, requiring skillful manipulation; and that these men and their families are now in the desperation of want.

Let this sorrowful tale of suffering caused by the presence of the Chinese in the Pacific States be sent to Eastern editors. They will read enough of it to learn it is not pro-Chinese and they will cast it into the waste basket. They will not publish it ! !

Manufacturing Centres being Migratory, what effect will a Cheaper Labor have upon Manufacturing Cities in the United States.

The sympathy for the Mongolian arises to a very great extent, from the belief of the greater portion of the people in the Eastern States, that a profitable trade may yet exist between themselves and the Chinese. And they will not accept the painful lessons being taught in the Pacific States, that in the conflict of races in the fields of labor, their own brothers and sisters are vanquished.

It will be a healthy occupation for Eastern editors and ministers, and all who should direct public opinion, to ask themselves questions like the following:

Does the history of manufactures, whether ancient or modern, teach otherwise than that they have rested with cities or with nations but a brief period of time; and that superior skill or greater facility for manufacturing have changed their location? In modern times abundance of coal and cheaper labor have located the factories.

If, then, manufacturing centres are migratory, and cheaper production, the result of cheaper labor, is to govern the location; who, of all the people of this world, can furnish this cheaper labor in the greatest abundance?

But is this labor competent to manage and operate factories in competition with the European races? If it has been successful, and shown to be competent in the Pacific States, why not in the other States of the Union? If in the United States it is proved to be competent, why not in the seaport towns of China or Japan?

The Competition concerns the Manufacturing Cities of the Atlantic more than the Cities depending upon Agriculture.

Whether Asiatic labor and its effects, most concern the Western or the Eastern States can be readily discovered by a few questions.

What are the resources of all the Eastern, and some of the Middle States, other than that depending upon their factories and the work of their mechanics? If, then, these States have no other resources of importance, and the people depend upon their factories for sustenance, and the factories find no market for their products, what will be the condition of affairs in these States?

Suppose a plant of machinery, of the best and most modern structure, is placed in a country whose labor is so abundant as to forbid strikes, trade unions, and such organizations, as can only exist where the demand for labor is greater than the supply, and this plant of machinery for a while is directed by an European superintendent, and the laborer is paid twenty cents for a day of twelve hours' work, and the product of this plant is sold in the markets at a price

less than it can be sold for if manufactured by similar factories in the United States, what effect would that have? Ah, but we may reduce the wages of our laborers! But can the wages of the white laborer be reduced so as to successfully compete with men who have, from the beginning of their lives, been accustomed to live upon such simple food that ten or fifteen cents a day is a large price to pay for their board, even when they work at the high wages paid in the United States?

But we can protect ourselves with a tariff!

Where, then, is your trade with foreign countries? High-priced labor may be temporarily created by a tariff, but its product can only be sold within the boundaries of the country protected. The markets of the world are only open to the best that can be purchased at the lowest price.

If, then, history from the beginning has always shown that the manufacturing centres are of so migratory a character that superior facilities will remove them, what special qualities belong to the Eastern States and to Great Britain which will retain the location there?

Wise men, instead of condemning the defeated working-men and working-women of their own race, supplanted, as they have been, in the labor fields of the Pacific States; instead of toadying to the Chinese and bending the "pliant hinges of the knee," where they suppose "thrift may follow fawning," would have learned something which they seem not now to comprehend, by properly studying the subtlety, cunning, treachery, immoralities and the depraved habits of the class of humanity which has upon American soil, and under great disadvantages, been enabled to take the places of Europeans in almost every department of labor in the Pacific Coast States.

The Trade with China of the Past.—It gives no Assurance of a Profitable Future.

The China and the Indies of the past are not the same as they are at present nor as they will be in the future. All who read of the fortunes made in trade with China had

better put it clearly in their mind, that it is not the present but the past in which these profits were made. The people who can beat us on our own soil by their superior cunning, are not likely to let us get away with them in their own country in the future.

A few questions may suggest answers which will lead us away from past errors. Is it not certified to by the most competent authorities that China is well endowed with coal, iron and other metals; and the territory of surrounding nations and the islands of the Pacific Ocean can, with China, so soon as the mines are well opened, fully supply the wants of all the factories necessary to do the manufacturing of the world?

The population of Japan, being a little more than that of Great Britain and Ireland, or little less than that of France, number 37,500,000. The Empire of China has a population variously estimated between 300,000,000 and 450,000,000. Hindostan counts 250,000,000. Now, add to these the population of the contiguous territories and islands, and you have the enormous number of Yellow Skins whose aggregate is more than *twice* that of the entire white population of the world. A source of supply to the fields of labor twice greater than has heretofore existed, now open, and the European may contemplate the degradation which must follow in the competition between his own and the millions of a baser race.

How the inevitable future is indicated by the bending towards it, is seen in the modified taste which now decorates the homes of the wealthy with Chinese and Japanese manufactures. The marvelous prices paid for the handiwork of these people is a tribute to their skill, or an act of idiocy on the part of the buyers. Enter a Japanese, Chinese or East India store; examine the works in bronze, porcelain and other wares; the silks, embroideries, carvings, etc., etc.; study the patient and continuous labor necessary to produce these effects, and then consider if it is violent or far-fetched to suggest that the fingers which did these works could, when directed by an European superintendent, enter successfully into competition *with Europeans*. Cultivate their taste

so as to conform to that of the European, give them the most approved machinery, let them be directed by a skilled European superintendent, and what they can accomplish is better known in California than in any other part of the world. To the pro-Chinese advocates of the East, who each have come in contact with about six Chinamen in their entire lives and who believe Californians to be only "roughs" and "hoodlums" and who have taken the "childlike and bland" Chinaman to their sympathetic care, we would suggest that they learn something from the great conflict of the two races in the fields of labor in the Pacific States; not losing sight of the fact that the white man is upon his own soil, and the Mongolian is a foreigner, and for awhile after arrival in this country does not understand the language of the country—all these advantages being in favor of the whites. He may find in the answer to questions like the following that

A Cloud is coming from the West whose dark shadows will forever rest over Eastern Cities.

And, in its pall of demoralization, wreck their manufacturing enterprises and bring desolation, ruin and despair unto the people.

Have not all the kinds of work that the sewing machine is capable of doing by the hands of white men and women been done, and are they not now being done by the same machine when driven by Chinamen? Have they not taken the place of white men and women in almost every department of silk, woolen, jute, cotton and other factories? Have not the Chinamen driven from their trades, tinners, shoemakers, the makers of overalls and shirts; tailors, cigarmakers, butchers, saddlers, gardeners and every trade requiring handiwork—a very large number, because of their cheaper labor? And do they not in San Francisco own and run with Chinese operatives thirty-eight shoe factories, each factory employing on an average about 100 Chinamen? Thus showing that three Chinamen are working in the shoe factories, with the best Eastern machinery, in the city of San Francisco, to every one white man. Do we not find the Chinamen in all the

Pacific States engaged as merchants, insurance agents, bankers, and in every occupation ordinarily pursued by the Caucasian? Are there not many Chinese in the Pacific States who are millionaires, from the accretions of their mercantile and manufacturing operations? and have not many of these capitalists been enabled, first by underselling or otherwise securing the customers, to become by purchase the owners and operators of many of the most profitable factories of the Pacific Coast?

When we look at the bright and intelligent faces of the European, and then at the dull, stupid, expressionless face of the Mongolian, we cannot believe the statements here made. But when we turn and see the Chinese in the factories, and the white men and women begging for the privilege to work, that they may earn their bread, the truth is realized, and the statement only fails of being correct because of its feebleness.

A stranger for the first time looking at a steam engine would see only the black iron and complicated machinery, but he would have no conception of the power hidden from his view. So, when looking at the dull and stupid appearing Chinaman, we cannot discover the especial gifts and qualities which render him so dangerous as a competitor or as a laborer.

We extract the following from the work of James A. Whitney, LL.D.:

"I shall never forget my first sight, years ago, in San Francisco, of a Chinese artisan at his work. It was only the making of cigars, but the tawny fingers moved as if directed by the regular stroke of steam, and with an accuracy that no mechanism could surpass. Making no haste and no pause, impassive to the curious gaze of the onlooker, his horizon apparently bounded by the space of the bench before him, stunted in figure, and with the dull, animalized visage peculiar to his race, he stood, a being trained to manual dexterity by forty centuries of labor, but devoid of the wants, the aspirations, the high humanity, with all its attendant needs, which forty centuries of intellectual, emotional and physical advancement have given to the races with which time and circumstance have brought him face to face."

The Ox of the Pacific is now being Gored.—The Ox of the Atlantic will soon be.

The Eastern States are comparatively free from the evil of competition at this time. They, therefore, can "speak patience to those that wring under the load of sorrow. But no man's virtue or sufficiency, to be so moral when he shall endure the like himself." What Asiatic competition will do for the cities of the Atlantic States is now being foreshadowed. Rev. H. W. Beecher said: "From the East I believe is to come a civilization that will yet make the nations of Europe tremble. We have got to learn these things, and if the average European or American, with his superior opportunities, cannot beat the Chinaman he must be content to be beaten by him."

But a short time since the German Minister notified the Pekin Government that if the local authorities interfered with any of his countrymen in the building or operating of factories in the seaport towns of China, to which they were admitted by treaty, the whole force of the German Empire would be brought to bear upon China. At this time the buildings for the manufacture of silk, cotton and other goods are being erected by Germans, Britains and other Europeans. The machinery, being made in Europe, is of the most approved kind. Will it not be that the low-priced labor of the country will make these first ventures profitable? And when this is shown, will not thousands rush in to establish others?

If a manufacturing plant in the State of New Jersey or Massachusetts pays but a small percentage on the cost, labor being one dollar per day, and a manufacturing plant pays twenty or thirty per cent. in Japan, China or Hindostan, labor being twenty cents per day, how long will it be before the plant of New Jersey or Massachusetts will be found migrating towards Asia? You will say it is absurd to talk of closing New England or Old England factories. It is too far-fetched! It is wild! It is, however, the same quality of prognosis that might have ten years ago foretold that Calcutta factories would close those of Dundee; for at this time

the greater part of the jute raised is made into merchantable goods in the city of Calcutta. Wheat bags, which Dundee sold for fifteen cents, Calcutta can sell at five and six cents.

Who would have ventured to say, ten years ago, that British landlords would try to sell their lands for Government consols, and that the wheat raised by the low-priced labor of India would make farming unprofitable both in England and the United States? But are not these existing facts?

If, then, the cheaper labor has captured the wheat market, and the manufacture of jute is tending towards the Indies, why may not silk, cotton and other factories gravitate towards the countries of low-priced labor? There never was an epoch in human existence when men did not search to buy at the lowest price. This being a fixed quality of the human mind, where will be the market for the sale of the products of the factories which pay the highest price for their labor?

A One-sided Treaty and an Unprofitable Commerce.

There are less than one thousand Americans in China, and these are permitted to live only in certain districts. There are over 200,000 Chinamen living in the United States, and these are permitted to live anywhere; and if their interest suggests it they may open an opium-den or a wash-house next to the palace of any of our millionaires.

The total value of merchandise exported from the United States to China during the fiscal year 1885 was $6,396,500. This includes the export to Hongkong. By contrast our export to Great Britain the same year was $398,103,203.

The import from China the same year amounted to $16,292,169, two-thirds of these imports being admitted free. The specie drawn the same year was $14,573,233, exclusive of the amount drawn secretly away by the coolies working in our mines and factories.

How much money is taken or sent away by those who will give no statement cannot be known; but it is believed by many who are quite competent to judge that $25,000,000

will not be too high a figure to place the money taken from the United States to China during the last year.

What country trades with China that has not the balance of trade in favor of China? Why should we desire to trade with a country to whom we have to pay tribute?

When the contemplated 10,000 miles of railroad is built in China, and these subtle, cunning, industrious and cheap-living people appreciate their own strength, then comes to the Eastern States some of the realizations now existing in the Pacific States.

The Pacific States are, in a measure, a barrier to the Eastern States as against Chinese invasion; but to the products of the manufactures of the seaport towns of Asia, the Eastern cities must, in the markets of the world, be prepared for a competition such as never existed before. In the fate which will inevitably overtake them let them have "no rioting," "no hoodlums;" but let them act as they now preach, and, as Beecher suggests, "if they cannot beat the Chinamen they must be contented to be beaten by them." Who believes that the future in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, will show less hostility to the Chinese than San Francisco? Surely, they are only those who do not know how desperate the conflict is between the races in the labor field.

The Opening of Asiatic Ports the First Step to National Suicide.

It is a curious feature of the progress of China that she has been compelled to all her foreign relations. In 1796 the Emperor prohibited the use of opium, and means were taken to stay its use. In after years Great Britain opened five ports to its own commerce, took the Island of Hong Kong, demanded $21,000,000 as an indemnity, and then forced the opium trade upon the natives.

How the bees swarm and multiply when the hives are opened; how the boomerang often returns to destroy the thrower; how vengeance often smites the wrong-doer; may be paralleled when the Chinamen, by their dexterous and cheap labor, begin to close British workshops.

War gave its victories to Great Britain. The victories of peace will rest with China.

The effect of railroads connecting distant provinces is to bring all the people in daily communication in the affairs of commerce and of state.

These daily associations tend to destroy castes and prejudices, and lead to unity and consolidation. In India there was open to traffic in March, 1885, more than 12,000 miles of railroad, and there was under contract for construction 3,550. To double or treble the number of miles of railroad will be to double or treble the resources of the country; and if 12,000 miles of railroad does open a country which can lessen the value of wheat throughout the world, what may the additional miles do with cotton and other products of the soil?

There being 26,000,000 Britons and 266,000,000 Hindostanees, how long will it be before that country becomes an independent sovereignty?

The coal-beds of Europe have long been worked; each year the difficulty of working increases as the time of exhaustion approaches. The exhaustion of the coal beds means the departure of manufactures and the approach of political decrepitude.

The coal beds of Asia are but being opened; raw material, as silk, cotton, flax, jute, etc., can be produced at prices to compete with the world. The mines of metal are abundant. The labor costs one-third the price of labor in England. Now, take the lesson that has been taught in the Pacific States, but which is not now understood nor appreciated east of the Rocky Mountains. The Englishmen as well as the American are displaced by the Mongolian as factory hands, as laborers in the mechanic arts, as tradesmen, as owners and operators of extensive manufacturing works, as commercial operators, as shippers, as controllers of monopolies and as directors of corporations, etc. As laborers, because of the nimble fingers, extraordinary working capacity, many hours of labor, and the low price for which their economic habits fit them to labor. As operators, because of their acute cunning, thorough lack of conscientious scruples to

adopt any means to accomplish desired ends, their power of directing great numbers of their own countrymen to any enterprise, and the great amount of capital they can bring to their aid.

From all these, and much more which may be presented to our reflection, may we not reasonably apprehend that the future of manufacturing England is being shadowed? And that the curse of the commercial avarice which opened the Asiatic ports to British trade will be visited unto the generations following?

In Japan and China, the inventions and machinery of the Europeans are earnestly sought for. Mining is carried on at the Kelung and Kaiping collieries, and in many other mines, with European machinery. Railroads and telegraph lines are being built.

The China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, owned and operated by the Chinese, runs thirty steamboats. Tientsin and Foochow will soon be lighted with gas. In the dockyards native Chinese handle foreign tools and machinery with great success in building boats, engines, etc., and manufacturing establishments are being constructed in the seaport towns.

Commerce with a Nation which produces but does not Consume, will Exhaust the Nations which have the Balance of Trade Against Them.

Machinery has so multipled the productive capacity of men that trade has the surfeit of over-production; factories are in their workings limited to a partial time, and laborers cannot find full employment. What will be the effect of adding many millions of laborers to the already too great number? Will it not be disastrous unless we can add consumers adequate to take up and exhaust all that the additional laborers produce?

The Chinamen in California who have, from mining or mercantile ventures, become millionaires, wear the same style of clothing now that they wore when they entered the

State twenty years ago, and but of little finer texture. They live in small apartments, and they limit all their personal expenditures to the smallest amount practicable to their present condition. Thousands of years of oppressed and economic living has so stamped the mind of Chinamen that extravagant expenditure for personal adornment or for comfort or display is not natural to them, and can only be acquired by an almost total change of their mental attributes. It may be said that as a user-up or destroyer of the products of manufacture, it is rare to find a rich Chinese family as extravagant or the equal of the family of an ordinary tradesman of the European race.

On the one hand the Chinese are not now, nor never will be, in proportion to their number, great consumers; and on the other hand a Chinese laborer can equal the production of a white laborer. When 350,000,000 of these Asiatics are supplied with the improved machinery of European manufacturers, where will be found the compensating number to use up the product of their factories?

China, above all other countries, is better endowed for an exporting, with no probability of ever becoming a great importing country. If, without machinery, China can make all nations pay the tribute of the balance of trade in her favor, what will she probably do when the machinery, now beginning to be introduced, goes into operation?

The sources of supply of Asiatic labor, to wit: Japan, China, Hindostan, contiguous territories and islands, equal a population of 800,000,000—a number double that of the European race, and shown in the lessons given in the Pacific States to be competent to take the place of white laborers. That number will, in the future, stamp the price and dictate the hours of labor; and the toilers whose skins are fair, and who are of a nobler and more dignified manhood, must succumb to the degradation following the competition.

Trade is chiefly valuable to a nation when, by exchange, the exports exceed the imports. China is now manufacturing many goods which we formerly exported there. Our export of manufactured goods to China is already becoming less. We import three times as much more in value from China

than we export to China. They who expect to change that order of trade are dreamers, and do not fully appreciate the fact that factories built in the seaports of China can work labor at less than twenty cents a day. Gravity does not more persistently cause water to seek its channels in the lowest places, than does competition direct the trade and manufacturing interests to the countries of the cheapest labor and production.

As Silent, Irresistible, and Inevitable, as a Mighty River, China pours forth its Millions, to Populate and Command the Labor and the Trade of the Islands and Nations of the Pacific.

Baron Alexander von Hubner, the Austrian Ambassador to France, who has recently returned from his travels around the world, delivered a discourse at the Oriental Museum in Vienna, the following extracts of which are taken from the able and exhaustive Report of the Special Committee to the Board of Supervisors of the city of San Francisco:

"The war of England and France against the Celestial Empire was an historical fact of world-wide importance, not because of the military successes achieved—the most famous of which was the plunder aud destruction of the Imperial Summer Palace at Pekin—but because the allies cast down the walls through which 400,000,000 of inhabitants were hermetically closed in from the outside world. *With the intention of opening China to the Europeans, the globe has been thrown open to the Chinese.* Who travels now-a-days through the interior of the Flowery Kingdom? No one, with the exception of the Missionaries, whose presence was already tolerated there, and in addition to these there are a few explorers. But the Chinese are streaming over the greater part of the globe, and are also forming colonies, albeit after their own fashion. Highly gifted, although inferior to the Caucasian in the highest spheres of mental activity; endowed with untiring industry; temperate to the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a born merchant; a first-class cultivator, especially in gardening; distinguished in every kind of handicraft, the son of the Middle Kingdom, slowly, surely and unremarked is supplanting the Europeans wherever they are

brought together. I am speaking of them only as I have found them. In 1871 the entire English trade with China, amounting then as now to £42,000,000 sterling, was transacted through English firms. The four great houses, of which one was American, were in Shanghai, while the smaller ones were distributed among the treaty ports. Added to these were the middle-men, as the sale of English imports in the interior of the Empire was effected through native merchants. In addition to this the firm of Russell & Co. owned twenty steamers that kept up the commercial intercourse between the treaty ports, extending to the Yangtse river. Now-a-days, with the exception of some great influential English firms, all the same trade, together with the Russell steamers, *has passed into the hands of Chinese merchants or of Chinese corporations.* In Macao, since nearly 400 years in possession of the Portuguese, are to be seen magnificent palaces, some of which date from the sixteenth century; they are situated in the finest part of the city, where the Chinese were not in the habit of building; and yet the greater number of these palaces *have passed by purchase into the hands of rich Chinese* and are now inhabited by them.

"On my first visit to Singapore, in 1871, the population consisted of 100 white families, of 20,000 Malays and a few thousand Chinese. On my return there in the beginning of 1884 the population was divided, according to the official census, into 100 white families, 20,000 Malays and 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, with magnificent stores, beautiful residences and pagodas. I imagined that I was transported to Canton. The country lying to the south point of Indo-China, which a few years ago was almost uninhabited, is now filling up with Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flowery Kingdom who emigrated to that point and to Singapore amounted to 100,000 in 1882, to 150,000 in 1883, and last year an important increase to these numbers was expected. * * *

"I never met more Chinese in San Francisco than I did last summer, and in Australia the Chinese element is ever increasing in importance. *To a man who will do the same work for half price all doors are open.* Even in the South Sea Islands the influence of Chinese labor is already felt. The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is in the hands of a great Chinese firm. On the Sandwich Islands the sons of the Middle Kingdom are spreading every year. The North Americans, until now the rulers of that island under the native kings of Hawaii, are already feeling the earth shake under their feet, as in vain they resist these inroads. All

these things have I seen with mine own eyes, excepting in Chile and Peru, countries that I did not visit. From official documents, however, I extract the fact that, since 1860, 200,000 Chinese have landed there—an enormous number, considering the small European population in those countries.

"Europe, with her 300,000,000; China, with her 400,000,000, represent, with the exception of India, the two most over-populated parts of the world. Both send their sons to foreign climes. *They consist of two mighty streams, of which one is white and the other yellow.* In the annals of history there is no mention of the migration of such immense masses of people. A series of questions now arises. How will the status of the old continent be affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now, suffering from a plethora, after such a severe bleeding, will Europe remain in a full, healthy condition, or, similar to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anemia? Who can tell? What fate is in store for the young, rising, aspiring Powers of Central Asia that are neither kingdoms nor republics, and what will be the reactionary effect on the mother country and on Europe? We do not know. What will be the result of the meeting of these white and yellow streams? Will they flow peacefully on parallel lines in their respective channels, or will their commingling lead to chaotic events? We cannot tell. Will Christian society and Christian civilization in their present form disappear, or will they emerge victorious from the conflict, carrying their living, fruitful, everlasting principles to all the corners of the earth? We cannot know. These are the unsolved problems, the secrets of the future, hidden within the womb of time. What we now distinguish is only the first clangor of the overture of the great drama of the coming times. The curtain is not rung up, as the plot is only to be worked out in the twentieth century."

How the Californians warmed the Serpents into Life.

Of the Asiatics who come to the Pacific States, the Chinese are the most subtle, cunning and aggressive, and, as such, they are the most feared by merchants and wage-workers. A history of their insiduous introduction in the Western part of the United States may be seen repeating itself in insiduous and gradual introduction in the Eastern States.

A Book, illustrated by Voegtlin, called "Chinese in California" contains many important statistics of the gradual increase of the Chinese in California. A few extracts from this work are given below.

On the 1st of January, 1850, having been attracted by the gold, there were in California, of Chinese, 789 men and 2 women. In January, 1851, there were 4,018 men and 7 women. In May, 1852, 11,780 men and 7 women. At this time the State tried to stay the current of immigration by imposing a tax as a license to mine. In 1868, when the Burlingame treaty was ratified, there had arrived in California, according to estimate, about 80,000 Chinese. How many Chinese there are in the United States now, no person knows, as a census of the rats in your barn is easier taken than a proper count of Chinamen.

By agreement, and under the auspices of the agents of the companies in the British City of Hong Kong (called here the Six Companies) who have banded together to compel the coolies to fulfil their contracts with them, all of the Chinese have come to this country; their passage and expenses being paid by the Companies, to be repaid with large interest by the labor of the coolies.

The coolies' obligation to these Companies is greater than to the State; the fear of their vengeance, and lest that their bodies may not be returned to China by these Companies in case of their death, compels them to the utmost servility; and they dread the judgments of the tribunal of the Six Companies more than they do the judgments of the State Courts.

For many years after the Chinaman first made his appearance in California he was looked at as a curiosity; his oblique eyes, pigtail, costume, manners, utterance, all was amusing and interesting; to this was added his innocent smile and docile manners, which quite gained the goodwill and even the affections of the people. Then the good-hearted commenced the missionary work and opened Sabbath Schools and led them to the altars of the churches and sought to save their souls. They had picnics given to them and were entertained as no white persons ever were by Christian missionaries.

The Graveyards show but few Permanent Conversions of Chinese.

After many years of patient exertion it was found that the Christian work bore no fruit; that the Chinaman went to Sabbath School only to learn to read and write the English language. That so long as his employers dressed him well, gave him Sunday as a holiday, and paid him extra wages, just so long he would appear as a devout Christian. He was ready to profess his love for the Lord and Jesus Christ at any time you would give him an extra dollar a week for his wages; and upon your withdrawal of the allowance, he would backslide even to mocking the efforts of the kind ladies and ministers who sought to make a Christian of him.

"Me foolee clistian minister, heap sabbee leed alle same Melican man, belly good, no wantee Jesus Clist."

"One of the most pleasant-looking graveyards in the City Cemetery is that of the Christian Chinese. Evergreens, gum trees and willows are planted there. When the plot was obtained there was probably a hope that all the Chinese in the State were to be converted, as there is room enough for thousands of graves in this burial ground, but notwithstanding its capacious size and agreeable surroundings, only eight persons are buried in this spot, and two of them are Japanese, who lay by each other apart from the Chinese. Little marble headstones are over the graves. On one is this inscription: 'Lum Sing Choy, Died November 28, 1883, aged 38 years. Trusting in the Lord.' On another is: 'Ah Kay, Died June 22, 1882, aged 18 years. Having found the Saviour.'

"The headstones over the Japanese record the deaths of M. Sugawara and Okita Toyo Jiro, who 'Died in the faith of Christ.'"

The very graveyards testify to the small fruits of thirty-five years of Christian efforts among the Chinese on the Pacific Coast.

The stories told by missionaries of the conversions of Chinese are for the most part such exaggerations as to become positive falsehoods.

If any have been converted to Christ, and are not kept in the Christian faith by a direct pecuniary gain, they are not found in California by any ordinary discoverer.

On the other hand, by the introduction of foul diseases and the enticing of young white men and women into their opium dens, they have ruined more bodies and destroyed the bright future of more souls than all the missionaries of America have ever converted of Chinese.

The Chinese have bought several Christian Churches to make Joss-houses, but not in one case have Christians bought a Joss-house.

Let the kind ladies and gentlemen of the East who are trying to make wings grow from Chinese shoulder-blades, when they get a Chinaman to love the Lord, discharge him, or lessen his wages, and then they will discover whether the Chinaman was using the Sabbath School as a way to heaven, or a way to gain, by learning to read "alle same Melican man."

Their Insidious, Subtle, and Relentless Attack; and their Victory in the Fields of Industry.

First, the Chinese established wash-houses at proper distances, and in every town in the Pacific States. Then poor women could get no more washing to do. Then the Chinese learned to cook, by working a few months for very low wages, hiring themselves to the wives of mechanics or tradesmen, who taught them how to cook as a compensation, in part, for their labor.

Becoming experts, they soon displaced women as cooks. Then they applied themselves to the sewing-machine; and being stronger than women they took the place of women at the sewing-machine. Then they entered the cotton, silk, woolen, shoe and other factories, and soon the white hands were discharged to make room for the Chinese.

In a little time very many of the factories were bought by wealthy Chinamen, who organized them as joint stock companies. For the reason that a boss Chinaman can hire a laboring Chinaman at from ten to twenty per cent. less than a white person can hire him, the factories owned by the Chinese can undersell the factories owned by the white man. As a result, the Chinese have been enabled to purchase the manufacturing plant from Americans often at a sacrifice.

It is well to understand this, for it has most important bearings on all the enterprises undertaken either in America or China: *that a Chinese merchant or manufacturer can always command the labor of his own countrymen at a considerable per cent. less than a European can.*

This fact has enabled them to take from foreigners the trade of the seaport towns of China which was once held by Europeans.

In the Yangtse-Kiang river, and the ports of Chin-Kiang and Hang-Choo, the Chinese have taken the transportation and trade from foreigners.

Why Boss Chinamen Command the Situation.

The lessons taught in California are that Chinese labor is the most abundant and the cheapest, and that a *Boss Chinaman can command that labor at from ten to twenty per cent. less than the European.* As a result, Chinese capitalists can run factories and operate in trade, at from ten to twenty per cent. of an advantage over Europeans.

The lessons taught in China are that factories and steamers, built by foreigners, are now run by Chinese and owned by them, and that the commercial enterprises inaugurated by Europeans are fast falling into the hands of the Chinese.

It being a positive truth that a Chinese merchant or capitalist can command the labor of his countrymen at a less price than a European, and that they are competent to manage extensive manufacturing establishments, of silk, cotton, woolen, jute and other material, and turn out from their factories almost everything the European can; where, then, is the opening in the trade with China which the Eastern merchant finds is of such importance as to justify the sacrifice of the white people on the Pacific Coast?

All that Chinese Labor has Accomplished could have been Better Done by White Labor.

To justify themselves in the crime of condemning the Pacific States to a coolie system, which they themselves would not endure without more mob violence and murder than has been committed on the Pacific Coast, the presumptuous moralist and the press of the Atlantic States advance the argument that "without Chinese labor the Pacific States would not have advanced as rapidly as they have done." It may be said in reply, that an advancement with an incubus like the contamination of the Chinese, is like the growth of a child with a malignant tumor upon his back. At the time of manhood death comes of the malignancy.

They who now enter the Pacific States in search of homes are of the well-grounded opinion, that it would have been better for the future of these States if their growth had been much slower. The owners of large tracts of land, who have desired to realize in their time the highest price, are believers in a rapid growth, but they who by their labor make homes for all time, by subjecting the land to the best of cultivation, would have been better contented with a slower growth.

It is advanced by the transcontinentals that the Chinamen have been of benefit because they built the railroads. More miles of railroad were built at the same time, and under similar endowment, by the Union Pacific with white labor than were built by the Central Pacific with Chinese labor. The money paid for the labor of the construction of the Union Pacific remained in the country, and many of the laborers

on that road afterwards made comfortable homes on the land which now pays, and will forever pay tribute to the road. The money paid out for labor by the Central Pacific, for the most part, was sent to Asia, and the Chinese have not made homes on the contiguous land to pay a like tribute to the road. To say the Central Pacific Railroad Company could not get white laborers is a superficial absurdity. They wanted the cheaper labor, and therefore took the Chinese. There has not been a mile of railroad constructed on the Pacific Coast which could not have been done by white labor. If the directors, who let the contracts to themselves, had been contented with pocketing less of the profits of construction, and if they had sought to find white labor where it could easily have been found, there would have been no need of employing the Chinese.

The Golden Placer's Tribute to China.

For thirty-five years the Chinamen have been working in the placer mines. The largest portion of the gold taken out by them has been sent to China. All they have taken out would have been, in proper time, taken out by white men, and it would have remained in the country. When men temporarily leave a placer mine to work a better one, it is not such an abandonment as should give its proceeds to a foreign country; for that which is not the best one year becomes the best the following. When men left a claim paying eight dollars for one paying ten, they expected to return to it when the ten dollar claim became exhausted. When the Chinese took possession of the claim it was forever closed against the European. The leech is no more earnest to get the last drop of blood than the Chinaman is to exhaust.

Californians have rushed into wine-making and fruit-raising without proper deliberation or experience. They have planted improper kinds of grapes, as a result, made some very bad wine, and the memory of wine-drinkers will for a long time affect the drinking of the better wine now made. They have planted fruit trees without proper care in selection. Because of the number of acres

put into orchards, the production is beyond the capacity of the market. If they had had no Chinese labor the wine-growers and the fruit-producers would have been slower; they would have exercised better judgment and with better results.

The Rivers Protest and Wash Away their Works.

The work of reclamation of swamp lands by the hands of the Chinese was done by taking the dirt from the surface of the land on the border of a water-course and loosely piling it up as a levee. Nearly all this work has been washed away by the high waters of the winters, and there are now but few, if any, successful reclamations of swamp land which have been made by Chinese labor.

Americans now do the work of reclamation (in most cases on the land which has been once leveed by the Chinese) by getting the heavy material from the bottom of the river and placing it into levees by the aid of steam dredgers. This manner of reclamation is a success. Had not the temptation of cheap labor been presented, the Americans would have built the steam dredgers before this time. The works of the Chinamen having been so easily washed away, many have been discouraged, and the belief of the impracticability of reclamation has become so general as to seriously impede the progress. If the taking of the surface dirt, to make levees with hand labor, had never been attempted, machine work would have long before this proved reclamation a positive success.

The Chinese have at no time in the history of the Pacific States been of benefit sufficient to offset the vice and demoralization they have caused by their presence.

The Change which has Come to the Minds of Californians.

Even they who believe that rapid development was the better policy do now advocate the expulsion of the Chinese, as being destructive to the future welfare of the country. They were pro-Chinese; they are now anti-Chinese. The

same mental change will occur to all except the fanatics of the Eastern States. The pro-Chinese will deny and repudiate all they now utter.

The interrogation comes very often from the East: "If the Chinese are such a curse why do you employ them?" They who ask that question, always employ the cheapest and most available labor themselves. Did not Pennsylvania mine-owners bring the low Hungarians? And are the Massachusetts manufacturers blameless in the employment of the low-class French of Canada? They affect to believe that club and gambling houses, liquor saloons, houses of prostitution, pugilistic encounters, cock-fighting, lotteries and evil assemblies are bad in themselves, and tend to vitiate and demoralize the community: But they patronize them all the same, and without their patronage they could not exist to so great an extent. They repeat the Decalogue every Sabbath, and violate its commandments before the next. They would do unto others as they would have others do unto them, and then in preaching, voting and influence do all they can to blast the bright hopes of their brothers and sisters who dwell on the Pacific Coast.

The Chinese are Bolder Strikers than the Knights of Labor.

They say in the East: "They are tired of strikes, labor organizations and the quarrelsome Irish." Upon the theory of one extreme following another, they are prepared to "swallow a camel." They take to their embrace the leprous, opium-smoking Chinaman, as if that "innocent and peaceful stranger" were not as rampant in striking as the "vilest European."

In Asia the superabundance of labor will prevent strikes. In the United States, strikes can be successful only as long as the labor field is not abundantly supplied. Labor is an article of trade, its value is governed by its scarcity or abundance.

The number of Chinese in the United States is not so great as to cause them to enter into competition with them-

selves; the Six Companies' organization, so direct the laborers, and so apportion them to different sections, that they do not conflict with each other.

It is a fact that should not be lost sight of, Chinamen do not work for one cent less wages than may be necessary to take the occupation from the white laborer; and in every case where they have acquired the monopoly they have advanced the prices beyond what they were before. If a white man works for a dollar a day, and ninety-five or ninety cents will cause his removal, the Chinaman will work for that price, and when the white man is discharged and has left, the Chinaman will strike for higher wages. If a woman earns fifty cents a day the Chinaman will work for forty or forty-five cents until he gets the trade, then he will demand higher wages.

Every man of the Pacific States will testify that strikes for higher wages have been quite as frequent, if not more so, with the Chinese as with the whites, their number being taken into consideration. In some factories in California they have struck and quit the factory because the owner employed white men and women. When the owner discharged the white laborers, the Chinese returned to work.

The Chinese suspend the work of a factory until the white men and women are discharged! The Knights of Labor cannot muster as much gall as that!

The Chinese have the monopoly of the pork trade on the Pacific. To a butcher who offends them they will not sell any portion of a hog.

No tyrants are more arbitrary when in power than these simple-looking, "childlike and bland" creatures, whom President Cleveland calls "peaceful and innocent strangers."

They have Possession of the Lower Rung of the Ladder.

The progress from poverty to affluence may be likened unto the climbing up a ladder. When a man is absolutely depending each day for his bread upon his labor, he can rise only by putting his foot upon the lower rung of the

ladder. If that rung is not there, he cannot rise unless some aid is given to him to place him on a higher rung. The lower rung of the ladder is in the possession of the Chinese, in every State of the Pacific.

Adversity has overtaken a brother; he applies at the door of a factory, he is denied admittance because the Chinamen are in possession; he applies to the tradesman and the farmer; he can get no work; the Asiatics have filled all the places; the lower rung of the ladder is in their hands.

A sister in poverty, because of the loss of her protector, asks for work on the sewing machine; she cannot get the work because the sewing machine is almost exclusively worked by Chinese. She asks to become a cook, a chambermaid or a washwoman; these places are occupied by the Chinese. She can get no work. The lower rung of the ladder is taken from her.

Do you wonder that there are "hoodlums", "prostitutes" and all that depravity can manifest in humanity, or that crime and violence exist, or that men who are denied the privilege to work for their bread resort to the destruction of the covert enemies?

The steam-engine has not brains, yet it accomplishes work as of millions of men, even to the extent of producing more

than can be used; but with the surfeit and over-production from this cause, the moral atmosphere is not tainted. Asiatic labor adds millions of hands to production, and brings no market for the produce. With the Asiatic comes such a degradation to labor as makes the superior race shudder at the fate which compels them to work by their side. The history of the pork monopoly by the Chinese is brief. A boss Chinaman buys hogs, butchers them, sells to his own countrymen, who eat every part of the hog, including the entrails, and almost everything thrown away by the white butchers. The hind quarters and best parts are sold to the white butchers. The profit of the China butcher is in the refuse parts the Chinese eat, and which the white butcher usually throws to hogs. This percentage in their favor enables the Chinamen to command the pork butchery.

The Mixture of Races and its Demoralization.

Our ancestors living in the colonies bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, two hundred and fifty years ago, were engaged in the lucrative trade of bringing negroes from Africa to America. They continued to sell them into slavery as long as the trade proved profitable. The ministers of the period entered into the spirit of the commercial enterprise of their congregations, and they proclaimed in triumphant tones from their pulpits on each Sabbath day that "the hand of God was being put forth to bring the heathen of Africa to where they could sit under the dispensation of the Gospel and have their souls rescued from the damnation of hell."

From these same pulpits (supported by a generation following, who had discovered that their fathers' commercial avarice and hypocrisy was a crime against humanity and demoralizing to the nation) came violent denunciations against slavery, and following these was written the bloodiest record in the book of time—the war for the partial washing away of the curse bestowed upon us by our forefathers. The curse of our ancestors' venality was so damnable, that even the blood of a million soldiers (their own children) could not

destroy it. Go, now, into the Southern States; see the mixture of black and white children in the same play grounds. Go into the fields, or the workshop, and behold the bright-faced Caucasian drawn down to the level of the negro. Over the fair fields, beautiful country and soft climate of the South, why hangs the pall of stagnation and almost total non-progression?

You will ask: why don't they educate the negro? The answer comes: have not the negroes of the North for generations been educated by absolute contact with the highest civilization, and, being few in numbers, been kept, in a measure, from the demoralization resulting from association with their own race, and what progress have they made? In the South, if you educate a negro, he falls back, almost to his original baseness, after long association with his old companions. If the millions of the North cannot make the few negroes progressive, how much more difficult to advance the negro in the South? The physician may cure a patient of typhoid fever if preserved from the causes which promoted the disease, but if intense malaria exists in the atmosphere around, the probabilities of cure are much lessened. If not because of the existence of the negro in the Southern States, why do the emigrants turn from its soft airs to the blizzards of the North? The South was more conquered when the negro was left to shadow all its future, than when its armies were destroyed.

If greater examples of the evils of a mixed population were needed we might look to Mexico, the South American States, Turkey, and to all the Islands where mixed races exist. How history repeats itself, even in the same country and among the same people! The slave traffic, with all its enormities, was sheltered by the ministers of the Gospel, who proclaimed that "God was sending the heathen of Africa to drink of the waters of life."

Moralists who Embrace the Mongolian, and Debase their Brothers of a Higher Intelligence.

And now, in the same land, and, in some instances, from the same pulpit, and to the descendants of the vile traders whose commercial enterprises caused them to build ships and bring slaves to this country, ministers of the Gospel are preaching that God is at the same kind of work, and is "bringing the heathen Chinese to where the light of the Gospel will penetrate his soul and save him from everlasting punishment."

And editors are following!—but not in a Gospel light. They see, in a malarial light, an *ignis fatuus*. They think they see commercial gain—gain with a people who are not consumers but producers; gain with a people who are our superiors in cunning, deceit, and every attribute of commercial success. And they would have every steamer, with its low fares, bring millions of yellow-skins to darken the social state; have our children at school play with the sons and daughters of leprosy; commingle with them in every association of life, in our houses, in our temples, in the workshop, the factory, the street, and all places set apart for trade or commerce. They would have them teach our sons, whose morals have been most preciously guarded by us during their tender years, and our daughters, dearer to us than our lives, the smoking of opium, and, in its horrid fumes, cause us to see pass forever all the bright hopes we have had of their temporal and eternal welfare.

Already have the Chinese populated the islands of the Pacific so as to control its labor. Now they are entering Mexico and the British Possessions. Soon, from the North and the South, the East and the West, they will come in over the borders and, as rats do, prey upon the substance of the people.

Behold the consistency with their professions, and the thorough recklessness as to what they confer on their children. Our Puritan ancestors fled from the land of oppression to America. Almost their first commercial ventures were, whilst prating of the "brotherhood of man," to bring

negroes into slavery. And now, under the same avaricious impulses and in the pursuit of commercial profit, the editors, ministers, and merchants, of the Eastern cities are seeking to debase the high and intellectual condition of the people by mixing with them a race whose touch is contamination. The doctrine of the "universal brotherhood of man" would find none of the present exponents of the same opinion if, by some power, each of them, could be linked, as the Siamese twins, to a Chinaman.

They who wrote that all men were "born free and equal" went to their homes and whipped their slaves to labor. A more inconsistent class of people, now in the places they occupied, condemn, by the power of their numbers and their votes and their influence, men and women of the highest civilization and culture, their brothers and sisters, to the debasement and contamination of contact with the most degraded of races, who have invaded the Pacific States from the islands and mainland of Asia. And why? Is it because they, like young maidens, have fallen in love at *first sight* with the Mongolian, and are ready to abandon father and mother, brothers and sisters? Or is it because they expect a lucrative trade with the Chinese? Or is it because they hate the Irish and other European emigrants, and fly to a worse extreme?

The Testimony Presented by the Supervisors of San Francisco.

In July, 1885, the Committee appointed by the Board of Supervisors of the City of San Francisco (Messrs. W. B. Farwell, E. B. Pond and John E. Kunkler) made a thorough examination of the quarters occupied by the Chinese. Their report was endorsed by all the Supervisors and the Mayor of the city, and it was printed for public distribution. From this report we take the following, regretting that the entire report could not be seen and read by every man in the United States:

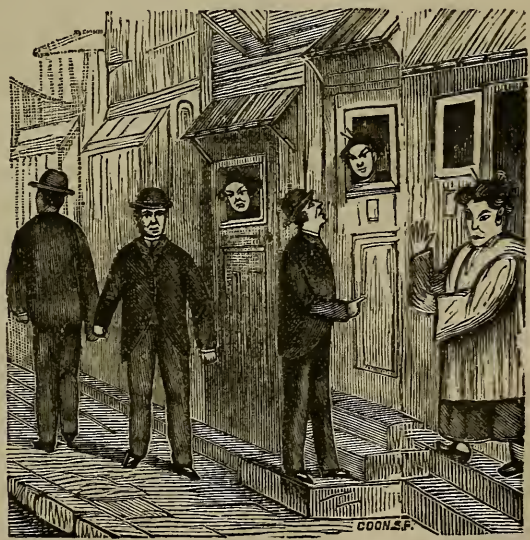
"All great cities have their slums and localities where filth, disease, crime and misery abound; but in the very

best aspect which Chinatown can be made to present, it must stand apart, conspicuous and beyond them all in the extreme degree of these horrible attributes, the rankest outgrowth of human degradation that can be found upon this continent. Here it may be truly said that human beings exist under conditions (as regards their mode of life and the air they breathe) scarcely one degree above those which the rats of our water-front and other vermin live, breathe and have their being. And this order of things seems inseparable from the very nature of the Chinese race."

How the Young are Allured to Destruction.

Dr. Toland, the founder of the Toland Medical College, testified before the Committee:

"I have seen boys eight and ten years old with syphilitic diseases, which they told me they had contracted of China-women on Jackson street. It is astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion. Some of the worst cases I have ever seen occur in children ten or twelve years old."



Prostitutes enticing young men.

When Dr. Toland was asked to what extent these diseases came from Chinese prostitutes, he said:

"I suppose nine-tenths. When these persons come to me I ask them where they got the disease. They generally

tell me that they have been with a Chinawoman. I am satisfied from my experience that nearly all the boys in town who have venereal disease contracted it in Chinatown. They have no difficulty there, for the prices are so low they can go whenever they please. He had never heard or read of any country in the world where there are so many children diseased as there are in San Francisco."

Dr. J. C. Shorb testified before the Committee, and said:

"The presence of Chinese women here has made prostitution exceedingly cheap, and it has given these boys an opportunity to gratify themselves at very slight cost. I have had boys from twelve years up to eighteen and nineteen—any number of them—afflicted with syphilis contracted from Chinese prostitutes. The extent of the evil is very general, and I suppose my experience must be the experience of all the physicians in San Francisco who are in full practice."

James R. Rogers testified that he had been special police officer in the Chinese quarter four or five years; that the prostitutes "are held as slaves, bought and sold. They are held as prostitutes, and are obliged, by what they call their mother, the head woman or boss of the institution, to stand at the windows and doors and solicit prostitution. Most of the Chinese houses of prostitution are patronized by whites—by young men and old ones. I have taken boys of not more than ten or twelve years of age from out of these houses. The schedule of prices is such that boys can afford to go there and patronize them."

A mountain of testimony is of like character, and to publish it would be only cumulative. The enticement of children into these dens of pollution for the purpose of getting from them ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents, is carried to the extent that the blood of the rising generation will be so contaminated, that hereditary diseases will extend far into future generations.

These prostitutes are as much the slaves of their owners as ever the negroes were in the South, and the proceeds of their iniquity goes into the purses of the men who purchased and now own them. These women were bought for a price, imported under a contract, and are sold for a price. They have a market value in this republic where slavery was abolished by the blood of millions of our soldiers. Let no minister of the Gospel, no pro-Chinese editor, no man,

"who is like an egg—so full of himself that he won't hold any more," none who cannot understand or take in the condition of things on the Pacific Coast, dispute this statement until they have learned more than they now know of the Chinese.

Slavery de facto et non de jure.—The Existence of Slavery Acknowledged, but by the U. S. laws none but Africans can be Slaves.

In May, 1886, Lee Ah Dot and Yu Gem were arrested upon complaint of Wan Ah Wong, under Section 5377 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, charging them with holding six Chinese women, purchased as slaves in China, imported to the United States and hired out for immoral purposes. The prisoners appeared before Judges Hoffman and Sabin of the United States District Court on writs of *habeas corpus*. Their arrests were made under the law of 1818, and involved the question whether slavery may now legally exist in the United States. The statute provides that every person who brings within the jurisdiction of the United States any negro, mulatto, or person of color, from any foreign country, or who sells or holds such a person as a slave, shall be fined not more than $10,000 nor less than $1,000, and shall be imprisoned at hard labor not more than seven nor less than three years.

The Court held (there being no testimony taken, and upon presentation of the case as charged) that "the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolished slavery in the United States, and that it did not, therefore, exist within our territory. It was further held that a Mongolian is not a person of color, within the meaning of Section 5377 of the Revised Statutes, and that the law of 1818 only applies to negroes. If any persons were held in involuntary servitude the offense could not be prosecuted for holding them as slaves, for the law does not recognize the existence of slavery here. The remedy should be found in the State laws." The Chinamen were discharged.

The United States Courts cannot find a remedy for as absolute slavery as ever existed in the South! When the United States Courts say the remedy lies in the State Courts

in any case where a Chinaman is concerned, they become facetious, and perpetrate a "minstrel" joke to be laughed at; for these very Courts have upset every State law made to meet such cases.

Where now are the Abolitionists, who once so abhorred slavery that they have purged the nation of the curse? A slavery now exists without a remedy.

The Cubic Air Ordinance.

The Board of Health of San Francisco, for the protection of all, suggested that a certain space should be allowed in each dwelling for sanitary purposes. The Board of Supervisors passed an ordinance to that effect. The space allowed was that which was necessary to the healthful existence of a white man. The following table shows how Chinamen can live and sleep in apartments so crowded that it would endanger the lives of white men if subjected to it. This table is a fair type of the common manner of living in Chinatown.

Street.	No.	Floor.	Number of occupants allowed under the Cubic Air law.	Number of actual occupants.
Dupont	814½	Sub Basement	9	32
"	"	Basement	21	70
"	"	First Floor	7	46
"	"	Second Floor	26	60
"	"	Third Floor	34	68
Sacramento	817	Basement	6	24
Bartlett Alley		Basement	16	68
" "		First Floor	6	14
Oneida Place		10 rooms, First Floor	31	94
Brooklyn Place		First Floor	4	24
Jackson	624	Basement	3	5
"	628	Basement	3	14
"	632	Basement	2	6
"	"	First Floor	3	16
"	620	Basement	3	14
"	622	Basement	4	20
"	"	Basement	6	30
"	"	First Story	3	6
"	615	Basement	3	16
Washington	737	Second Story	3	8
"	735	Basement	10	34
"	733	Second Story	4	12
Brenham Place	9	Second Story	8	24
" "	"	Third Story	8	18
" "	"	Fourth Story	6	22
Clay	767	Second Story	7	22
"	"	Second Story	4	12
"	804	Second Story	2	8
"	809	Basement	3	20
"	812	Second Story	5	16

"Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night; pick your way by the aid of the policeman's candle along the dark and narrow passage-way, black and grimy with a quarter of a century's accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage, abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. Now follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping-room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible—if we may be licensed to so use the word in this instance—to four out of the five human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the smell! You may even hear it as the opium-smoker sucks it through his pipe bowl into his tainted lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of a horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree, sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opaque atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten—never less than two or three—bunks, the greater part or all of which are occupied by two persons, some in a state of stupefaction from opium, some rapidly smoking themselves into that condition, and all in dirt and filth. Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in that dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning, proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions."

The Expenses of the Prison Greater than the Taxes Paid.

Mr. Badlam, Assessor of San Francisco, testifies:

"The population of San Francisco of the year 1884 is about two hundred and fifty thousand; of that about thirty thousand are Chinese. The Chinese pay about one-three-thousandth part of the taxes."

The Committee compiled, from the returns of the assessors of the counties in the State in 1884, the following:

"The assessed value of all the property in the State is, in round numbers, six hundred millions. The total population of the State is about 750,000, and the Chinese population is

more than one-sixth of the whole. The Chinese population, amounting to at least one-sixth of the whole, pay less than one-four-hundredth part of the revenue required to support the State government."

The net cost to the State for each prisoner is about thirty cents per day, and this without taking into consideration the cost of the prison buildings. The net cost to the State of keeping one hundred and ninety-eight Chinese prisoners in the State Prison is not less than $21,600 per annum—a sum $12,000 in excess of the whole amount of the taxes collected from all the Chinese of the State.

The millionaires of New York are not as expert in evading the assessors of that State as are the Chinese in California. Long custom of evading the demands of the mandarins in their own country have made them secretive and deceptive to the extent of owning nothing taxable when the assessors are about.

"The Peaceful and Innocent Strangers" to whom the Prison is as a First-class Hotel.

To human beings who relish as food the portions of animals rejected by the European, and feast on almost every unclean thing—creatures who can live, as seen in the statistics of the cubic air ordinance—the American prison is an acceptable change of diet and lodgings. The numbers who have been sent to the city and county jail for violating the cubic air ordinance are counted by the thousands. Too cunning to pay fines, they accept board and lodging in prison at the county's expense. To punish them is an impossibility, unless resort is had to that which would create a howl throughout the Eastern States, and call forth from the United States Courts the usual decision, "unconstitutional and conflicting with treaties." Of the adult population in the State the Chinese have committed far more murders, thefts and other great offences than the white population, in proportion to their number.

D. J. Murphy, formerly District Attorney and now Superior Judge, testified before the Committee:

"I have looked on my docket for two years and I find that of seven hundred cases that I have examined before the Grand Jury, one hundred and twenty were Chinese—principally burglaries, grand larcenies and murders. They are very adroit and expert thieves. I have not had time to examine for the last two and a half years, but the proportion has largely increased during that time. In capital cases particularly we are met with perjury. I have no doubt but that they act under the direction of superiors and swear as ordered. In many cases witnesses are spirited away, or *alibis* are proven. They can produce so many witnesses as to create a doubt in the minds of the jurymen and thus escape justice."

Judge Davis Louderback of the Police Court testified as follows to the question:

Q.—"What are the difficulties in the way of the administration of justice where the Chinese are concerned?"

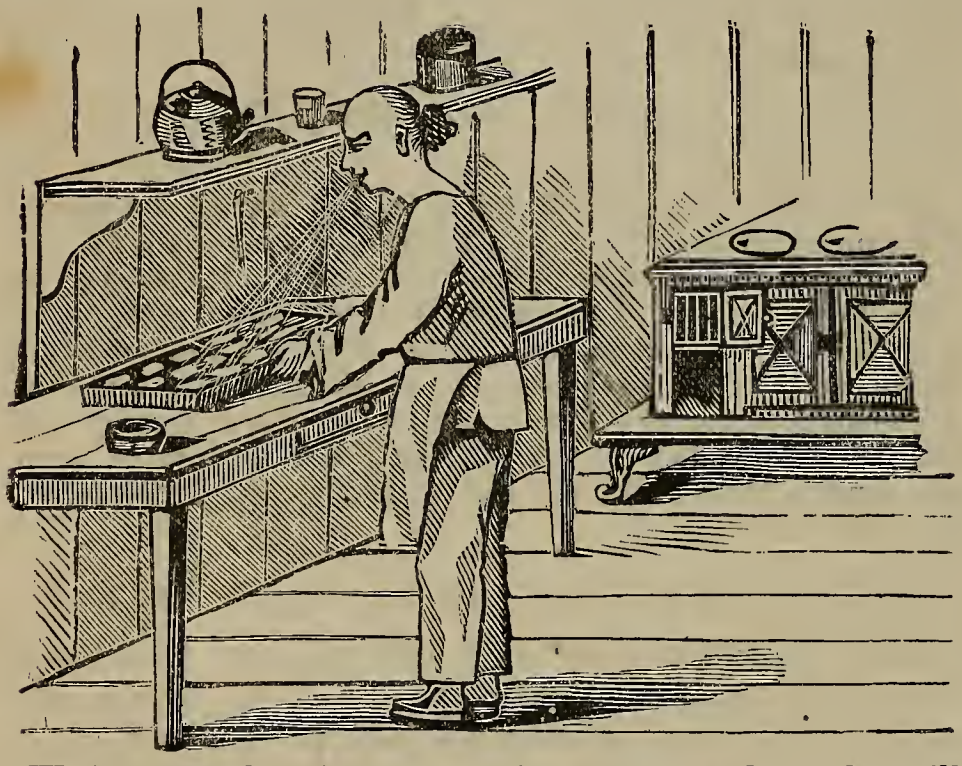
A.—"As witnesses, their veracity is of the lowest degree. They do not appear to realize the sanctity of an oath, and it is difficult to enfore the laws where they are concerned for that reason. They are very apt, in all cases and under all circumstances, to resort to perjury and the subornation of perjury. They also use our criminal law to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and malicious prosecutions are frequent."

Cleanliness which is not next to Godliness.

When you look at your cook with his clean white apron displayed to its best advantage, and see the kitchen most carefully washed, and everything bright and in its proper place, it becomes impossible to realize that the same cook came from the dens of filth we have described, and that he will return to them at every favorable opportunity. No such protean changes can be effected by any of the European race, and hence, being foreign to our own nature, we cannot believe it to be a possibility. So distinct and far removed are the mental characteristics of the Chinese from the white man, that the latter finds nothing in himself which will lead to a proper conception or comprehension of the former.

When you look at the simple and child-like smile, and hear the gentle assent to all your propositions and commands, you will not, you cannot believe that to every offence

you give, vengeance as treacherous as it is nasty will surely but secretly follow. Offend your cook! He will be humble, docile, non-resistant, and present no evidence of having received an offence; he is too subtle for that; and you leave him believing that your masterly dignity has crushed him; but he will have his revenge. He will hawk from his throat, spit, or blow his nose into the soup he is cooking for you; or mix with the stews he is cooking for your dinner more filthy things.



With a people who are speedy to revenge, but who will show no anger at the time of the offence, you are as with the subtle serpent. The hatred of the whites is openly expressed toward the Chinese. The Chinese have no less malignancy toward the whites; and this is expressed, not by open utterances or acts, but in covert and secret ways.

They who have watched them in the cigar factories see them blow their noses, and clear their throats, and cast the result among the tobacco destined to be smoked by white men. In the kitchen they are often seen to take water into their mouths and blow it out into the dough to moisten it, as the laundrymen do to the clothes. When the rolls or

biscuits come out of the oven they sometimes put an extra gloss upon them by squirting water out of their mouths as from a pulverizator.

They who estimate the Chinaman as a non-resistant are far away from the facts. He is a resistant, and an aggressive one, beyond all the conceptions of those who have not had years of experience with them. Subjected in their own country to the tyranny of their superiors in rank and wealth, they are schooled to hide their anger and smother their tendencies to resist. They therefore satisfy their longings for vengeance by doing that which will confer a wrong, but which they expect will be unknown. Mr. Oliphant says:

"A Chinaman has wonderful command of feature. He generally looks most pleased when he has the least reason to be so, and maintains an expression of imperturbable politeness and amiability when he is secretly and devoutly regretting that he cannot bastinade you to death."

It has been said that there are persons who can "smile and murder as they smile, and cry content to that which grieves the heart;" and that a man may "smile and smile, and be a villain." These in all other countries are individual characteristics. It can only be said to apply as a trait of national character to the entire Chinese people. The face of an European expresses to a considerable extent his thoughts, passions, or intentions. Not so the features of a Chinaman. You may find the direction the cross-eyed man looks, but you cannot discover the direction of the thoughts of a Chinaman. Therein all Americans are deceived, for the most child-like innocence is assumed even when their thoughts are deadly, and assassinations occur when least expected. It is in the dark, when they can act with the least fear of detection, that they become the most dangerous.

The Chinese as Gamblers.

We take from the official report made to the Supervisors the following:

"We are met with the most positive evidences that the Chinese population openly defy the State and municipal laws. These laws are strong enough, as has been conclu-

sively proved, to shut up the gambling houses run by white men, and to make the gambler completely amenable to the majesty of the law. It is not so in Chinatown. The barricaded gambling dens in Chinatown are veritable citadels and strongholds, built to defy assault and to baffle police interference. The list comprises about 150 places, the approaches to which are through a series of plank and iron doors; in every instance with grated windows, cunningly devised trap-doors for escapes, and in many instances iron-clad walls or partitions. Many of these doors bear the marks and indentations of the sledges of the police who have assailed them from time to time, which attack has usually been successfully resisted, however. When the attack has been successful, they have secured time long enough to enable every evidence of the gambling games carried on within to be destroyed before the assailants were admitted. The convenient water-closet or kitchen fire, always adjacent to and forming part of these dens, furnish ready means to destroy the 'tan' markers or lottery devices. When the police force an entrance they find the most innocent-looking celestials sitting 'child-like and bland,' apparently in wonder why they have been disturbed; and against whom no charges can be successfully maintained in the Courts."

A lottery den.

The Grand Jury in their report say:

"It is generally well known that gambling does exist to a great extent among the Chinese in this city, but it is diffi-

cult to surprise them in the act or to arrest the offenders. These gambling houses are so well protected by heavy iron plating on doors and walls, and so well supplied internally with means of exit through trap-doors and skylights that it is almost impossible for the police, however vigilant, to surprise the gamblers."

Lottery Associations among the Chinese.

The reporter of the *Chronicle*, who has spent much time in Chinatown, writes:

"The Chinese Lottery Protective Association consists of twenty-five separate companies with an aggregate capital of $1,000,000, and an individual capital varying from $20,000 to $60,000. The wealthiest of these organizations are the Yonk Tai Company, the Tuk Tut, Fook Tai, Tai Loi, Yum Kie, Kwong Tai and Wing Tai. The strongest is that entitled Tai Loi, whose place of business was raided by the police a few weeks since, where, besides several millions of lottery tickets, a large quantity of opium was seized. There is every precaution taken on the part of the Chinese to keep their places of business secret from the vulgar public. Huge sheet-iron doors guard the rooms; guards are everywhere on the alert to give the signal of an impending attack.

"Gambling is an exciting mania. There are few who have been approached who have not succumbed to the glib arguments of the Chinese lottery agent. The greatest number of victims are those of the gentler sex. Young ladies and their mothers, servants and their beaux, are liberal patronizers of these lotteries. Among the many agents employed by these lotteries to sell tickets are the washermen and fruit-peddlers, whose duties take them into the houses they otherwise could not enter. Some idea of the vastness of these lottery transactions may be gained when it is estimated that no less a sum than $15,000 to $20,000 daily, or $6,000,000 yearly, finds its way into the hands of the Chinese through the lottery traffic. The largest shareholders in these enterprises are the wealthiest of the Chinese merchants, who run no risk, as, in three-card monte, the bank generally wins."

Reading the above, you very naturally ask: Why do the State and municipal authorities permit the erection of barricades, iron doors, etc., which so effectually resist the police in the execution of their duties? The answer readily presents itself to every legal mind: The United States laws

permit every man to do within his house almost every and anything, and he may put in iron doors or erect barricades to his own satisfaction. The framers of these laws never contemplated the existence of a people so cunning and vicious as the Chinese; they made the laws to cover a homogenous population; to govern a people whose customs, habits and manner of gaining a livelihood were similar.

Special Legislation Necessary.

Where two races so distinct and opposite exist together, the legal yoke should be shaped to each. The United States laws are made as if the Chinese and Americans could assimilate and be as one. The State laws are made with reference to the fact that assimilation is neither desirable nor practicable. If the United States Courts would not interfere with the State and municipal legislation, there would be no iron doors or barricades to prevent the police from doing their duty. On the other hand, all the Chinese in the Pacific States would emigrate to other countries, and a very large number go to the east of the Rocky Mountains, there to act as missionaries, in the conversion of editors, ministers, and all others who cannot understand the Chinese question, until, by friction, actual contact, and losses in their business, they are compelled to a true knowledge of the subject; proselyting them to the belief that, if all the scourges the white man had ever been exposed to were concentrated, they would not in their aggregate parallel that of the presence of the Chinese among them. Until the National Government appreciates the sufferings of those who are in daily contact with the Chinese, the people of San Francisco must "grin and bear" their calamities.

A thoughtless boy brought to his father's house a bull pup, upon whom he had placed his affections. To test his qualities he persuaded his father to get down on his hands and knees and play dog. This he did, to the delight of his son. The pup soon proved that he was a bull pup in the first degree. He took the ear of the old man into his mouth with the usual unrelenting grip, and when the old man cried aloud the son cried still louder: "Be patient, dad; grin and bear it, father; it will be the making of the pup."

Opium-smoking, as Introduced and Spread, by Wash-houses and Opium-dens.

The qualities of goodness are not to be measured by the intentions, nor are the graces of the Christian to be estimated by the profession. There are no teachings of the Bible which can be interpreted to mean, that the moral condition of our own race should be neglected or made worse in the too earnest effort to convert the heathen.

When the vices introduced by those who come from heathen lands tend to corrupt, demoralize, and lead to the physical and moral destruction of the young men and women of our country, it becomes the duty of all men to comprehend the importance of the evil of the immigration in all its bearings.

To have but the single thought and purpose of the mind directed to the making angels of the heathen, at the same time closing the eyes, the ears, and all sources from which a proper knowledge and understanding can be derived of the want, deprivation, misery, crime and degradation caused by the vicious habits and diseases introduced by the Asiatic races who come to this country, partakes of the narrowness of the many in the Atlantic States, who will do nothing to alleviate the sufferings of their neighbors, but will encourage the coming of those who will bring diseases and habits which will destroy many of their own race.

Of this class are the enthusiasts, pursuing a course derived from a single text of Scripture, without reference to the whole, and pushing forward to its destructive results. These, when disaster has followed their acts and teachings, will seek to shelter themselves from the consequences of their own errors and the wrath of their fellow-citizens by pleading that their intentions were good. It has been said that "Hell is paved with good intentions." If so, then even and exact justice demands that all such men should walk these pavements until their sins are purged away.

The vice of opium-smoking, introduced by the Chinese who have come to America, has destroyed the intellect and alienated from the love they should have for the moral

teachings of the Bible, more young men and women in the United States than all the missionaries of the country have ever converted of the Chinese to Christianity. This is a fact awful to contemplate, but before which, every pro-Chinese citizen of America should pause and reflect; then ask themselves if they do not owe a duty to the natives of their own country superior to that which they owe to opium-smoking foreigners.

Every Chinese wash-house in the cities and towns of the United States is an opium-joint or den, or contains Chinamen who smoke opium; therefore, every city and almost every town has within itself an active source from whence the contagion of this habit may spread. What the attending horrors and ruin of opium-smoking is should be known by every man and woman.

All Men Should Know of the Drug which Most Disastrously Enslaves.

In the larger cities there may be found in the book-stores treatises upon the opium habit written by men who have devoted much attention to the subject. Every person should read some one of these works before they consider themselves competent to have a valuable opinion upon Chinese immigration. From among a very large amount of interesting matter found in Dr. H. H. Kane's "Book on Opium-Smoking," published by G. P. Putnam & Sons of New York, we extract the following:

"In the year 1875 the authorities of San Francisco, after exhausting every means of suppressing the habit of opium-smoking, succeeded in closing the larger smoking-houses, but the small dens in Chinatown were well patronized, and the vice grew surely and steadily. The very fact that opium-smoking was a practice forbidden by law seemed to lead many, who would not otherwise have indulged, to seek out the low dens and patronize them, while the regular smokers found additional pleasure in continuing that about which there was a spice of danger. It seemed to add zest to their enjoyment. Men and women, young girls, virtuous or just commencing a downward career, hardened prostitutes, representatives of the 'hoodlum' element, young clerks and errand boys, who could ill-afford the waste of time and

money, and the young men who had no work to do, were to be found smoking together in the back rooms of laundries, in the low, pestilential dens of Chinatown, reeking with filth and overrun with vermin, in the cellars of drinking saloons and in houses of prostitution. No one can question the fascination of a vice, the strength of a habit, that will lead people into such degradation for the gratification of the abnormal appetite. No one can question the certainty of moral ruin, the charring and obliteration of every honest impulse and honorable sentiment, the sweeping away of every vestige of modesty by such associations and such surroundings. It needs no sign-board to mark the terminus of this road."

The Ruin and Desolation Following Opium-smoking.

"It is thus seen how fascinating a habit that of opium-smoking is, and with what rapidity it is spreading all over the country, ensnaring individuals in all classes of society, leading to the downfall of innocent girls and the debasement of married women, and spreading its roots and growing in spite of the most stringent measures looking to its eradication.

"The question will be naturally asked, of what class are those who smoke opium? The answer is: representatives of all classes—merchants, actors, gentlemen of leisure, sporting men, telegraph operators, mechanics, ladies of good families, actresses, prostitutes, married women and single girls. Those who have most leisure, those on whose hands time hangs heavily, are the most prone to drift into it and be carried away by it. *Essentially a nervous people, prone to excess in everything, gladly welcoming narcotics and stimulants, we go to very decided excess in all matters of this kind.* Upon the morals of the individual the effects are well marked. The continued smoking of this drug plunges the victim into a state of lethargy that knows no higher sentiment, hope, ambition or longing than the gratification of this diseased appetite. It blunts all the finer sensibilities, and cases the individual in a suit of vicious armor that is as little likely to be pierced by the light of true morality as a rhinoceros hide by a willow twig. To him Heaven is equivalent to plenty of the drug; Hell to abstinence from it. Once fastened upon the victim, the craving knows no amelioration; it is a steady growth, with each succeeding indulgence gaining strength as the huge snowball gains in circumference and weight by its

onward movement. No wonder that laws have failed to blot it out. A man may wish to be free from it, as may a dove in the talons of an eagle, or a lamb in the embrace of a tiger, and with as little good result. The awakening comes too late."

Mr. Lord, the United States Consul to Ningpo, says:

"Opium-smokers must have opium, and in most cases they must have it in increasing quantities. To obtain it no obstacle is too great to be overcome. They will part with everything for it, sacrifice everything that is sacred. The wretch who is given to opium is lost to everything else. His land, his house, his bed, his clothes, his food, his wife, his children, and even his life will be consumed on the altar of this terrible Moloch."

How the Young are Seduced and Ruined by Opium-smoking.

Burt Hale, in the San Jose *Mercury*, says:

"In the great city of San Francisco, boys, yes, and girls, with the look of cunning, blasé, old men and women sneak out of the vile alleys in the Chinese quarters and elsewhere; out into the beautiful sunshine and refreshing sea breeze with such expression of weariness, duplicity, vice and recklessness combined on every face, that the busy passer-by stops to pity and abhor.

"The foolish, misguided boy, deceiving father and mother and employer, deems it something smart and clever to 'visit a joint' or 'to hit the pipe.' The poor young fool stifles both conscience and his nostrils and pretends to look approvingly and with the eye of a connoisseur on the box of deadly poison; and, holding in the flame the dirty bowl, charged with the perforated ball, draws death, dishonor and disease in fatal inhalation.

"It is the road to speedy decay and rapid dissolution. An idolatry that has slain more thousands than Juggernaut. It is the curse of China. An impending evil that, transplanted here, if not rooted out, would, before the dawn of another century, decimate our youth, emasculate the coming generation, if not completely destroy the white population of our coast.

"This pernicious habit is on the increase all over the State and more especially in the large cities. Many bright young men, including two, at least, graduates of our university, have died from its effects within the last year. The

police records of San Francisco show the arrests of hundreds of both sexes annually, many of them youths of respectable exterior, in the vilest of Chinese 'joints.'"

His regular patrons.

Sir C. Forbes writes: "For fascinating seductiveness, immeasurable agony and apalling ruin, the world has yet to see its parallel." And Barnes says: "Not the reptile with its fascinating eye draws the impotently fluttering bird so surely within its gaping jaws. Opium is a spirit of evil as treacherously beguiling as is the arch-fiend himself."

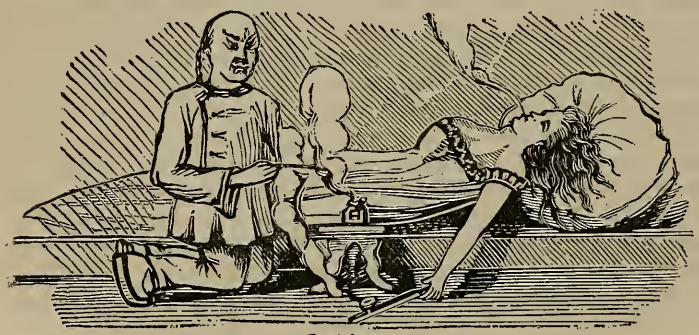
A Chinese scholar, quoted by Williams, thus sums up the ill effects of opium, which he says "is taken first to raise the animal spirits and prevent lassitude. It may be compared to raising the wick of a lamp which, while it increases the blaze, hastens the exhaustion of the oil and extinction of the light. Hence the youths who smoke will shorten their own days and cut off all hope of posterity, leaving their parents and wives without anyone to depend upon. From the robust who smoke, the flesh is gradually consumed and worn away, and the skin hangs like a bag, their faces become cadaverous and black, and their bones naked as billets of wood. The habitual smokers doze for days over their pipe without appetite; when the desire for opium comes on they cannot resist its impulse. Mucus flows from their nostrils and tears from their eyes; their bodies are rotten

and putrid. The poor smoker who has pawned every article in his possession still remains idle, and when the periodical thirst comes on, will even pawn his wives and sell his daughters.

The Hopelessness and Despair of the Opium-smoker.

Dr. A. P. Meylert, in his book published by Putnam & Co., New York, describes the impotency of the opium habitué thus:

"The enchantress is now changed to a dragon, which holds him under a magic spell. He resolves to be free from bondage to a degrading appetite. To give strength for thought, reflection and plan of action an extra portion is taken. Under its influence he is brave and resolute. He now determines to reform or die in the attempt. Soon, however, he becomes dispirited, depressed, anxious. If he persists, and allows the time to pass without his daily dose, a great distress takes possession of him. He falls asleep, but frightful dreams quickly waken him, trembling and crying out in terror. The judgment has come and the evil one is reaching out his great brown hand to seize him! Time seems to stand still. He stares at the clock, saying: are there sixty minutes in an hour? No, there are sixty hours in every minute. At one moment he is burning up, then he shivers with cold. Perspiration streams from every pore. Neuralgic pains torture successively his head, limbs, joints, arms, chest and back. Indeed, every nerve of his body seems to cry out, and nerves are discovered where none were known to him before. A peculiar indescribable sensation, more severe than actual pain, torments him from head



Lost forever.

to foot. Obstinate vomiting sets in, followed by persistent, exhaustive diarrhœa. Finally, in deep humiliation, in anguish and tears, he gives up the attempt and bows in subjection to his merciless master.

"Nothing is so suggestive of demoniacal passion as the conduct of the confirmed habitué when suddenly deprived of his drug. He finds himself a captive unable to escape from his prison house. He tries again and again, ineffectually. If ever a poor soul needed help he does, and that quickly. At length he passively yields to what he calls his fate. A little longer and he comes to enjoy it. He continues to denounce others for placing him there, but makes no further effort to escape. He becomes intensely selfish and supremely self-conscious. He lives in an imaginary world of his own creation. He is its central figure. Nothing grows on its soil but the poisoned fungus. Everyone suffers from contact with him. Those who refuse to minister to his depraved appetite, be they father, mother, wife or child, are literally, passionately denounced and cursed. Thus he goes on from bad to worse, and then cometh the end.

"It should be understood that opium habituation means death—mental, moral and physical. He who cannot instantly drop the drug is drifting towards destruction. He does not see it, perhaps. Like the Rhine boatman, gazing at the vision of beauty upon the cliff above him, he is swiftly dashed upon the rocks below. And what does the habitué himself think as he goes down the dark valley? The sun shines, the birds sing and the flowers bloom, but not for him. Nature itself is turned against him. The bright day with its wealth of beauty serves but to mock him. He seeks consolation from the Bible, but there is no promise, no hope for him. He remembers only the words, 'All thy waves and thy billows have gone over me; the sorrows of death compassed me about; the pains of hell got hold upon me;' while the undercurrent of his tortured mind repeats as a refrain, 'I have trodden the wine-press alone—alone; there was none to help—none to help.'

"The night comes on, closing around him like the pitiless tide upon the poor wretch on the shoals. He feels the horror of a great darkness, thick, heavy, penetrating every part of him. Every nerve of the body seems to take on conscious thought; and such thought! There is no past but that separated from the present by the great gulf—fixed, impassible. There is no future save the bottomless pit of eternal despair, everlasting, with no ray of light forever and forever. And what of the present? The present—a thousand years of

agony in a single night. Who can endure, even to think, of such suffering night after night, such shuddering fear of the terrible unknown, until at break of day the sun brings partial respite, and uneasy sleep comes to the weary sufferer? Who can wonder that the mind soon gives way under such a strain as this?"

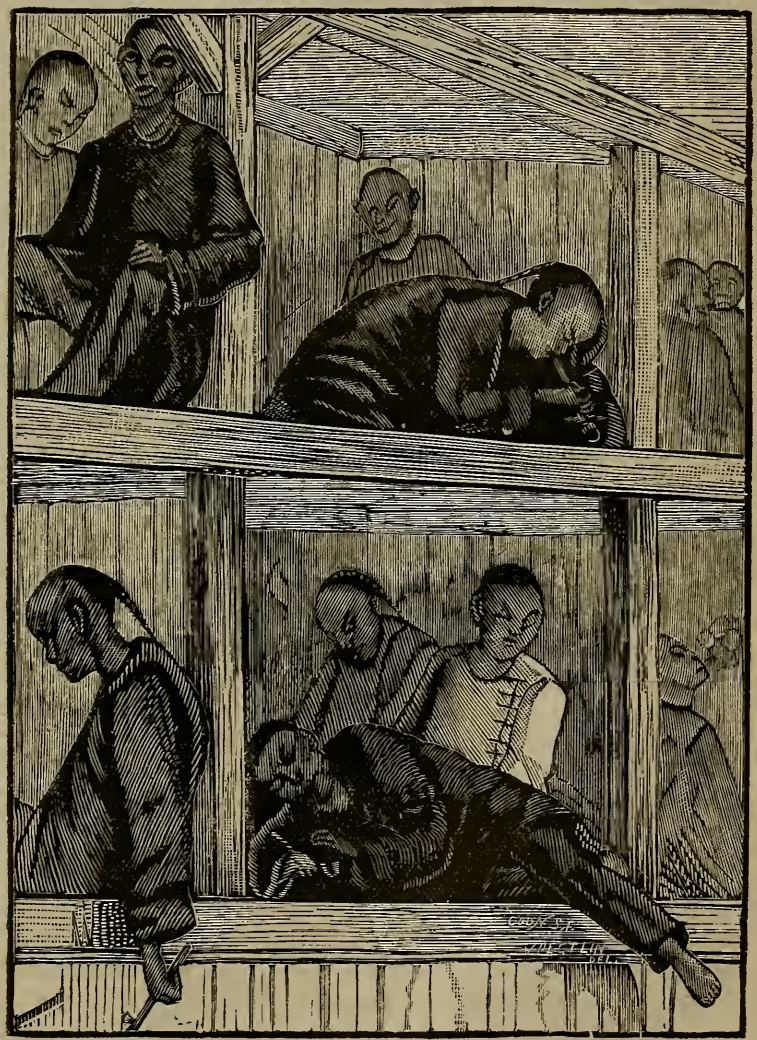
They who would more fully comprehend the suffering of the opium habitué should consult the works of Dr. I. B. Mattison and Dr. F. H. Hubbard of Brooklyn, N. Y., Dr. E. Levenstein, London, and many other excellent books written on the subject by experienced men.

The Existence of the Habit in San Francisco.—Its Spread Throughout the United States.

A reporter of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, after many days' observations in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, directs attention to the alarming manner in which that most degrading habit, opium-smoking, has increased in San Francisco during the past few years. From observations carefully made and from conversations held with opium-users, opium-sellers and policemen, it has been ascertained that in San Francisco alone there are, exclusive of Chinese, as many as from 3,000 to 4,000 persons of both sexes, whose ages run from 16 to 60, who are completely enslaved by the pipe. The number of Chinese smokers in the city is almost past finding out. There is scarcely a house in Chinatown, from the lowest hovel to the abodes of the wealthy, where a layout cannot be seen. The reporter says:

"Wishing to obtain from the lips of the opium-slaves an account of the influences of the drug upon the mind and body, I visited a large number of 'joints' throughout the city. From North Beach to South Park and from the Water-front to the City Hall the dens were found, dotting the surface of the city in all directions, as if the germs of disease had been wafted by the winds from the loathsome hot-beds in Chinatown, and had fallen at random and taken root in the soil. One could hardly imagine to what an alarming extent the horrible practice has spread in this city unless he should see the indisputable proofs before him. A few years ago there was scarcely a den outside of Chinatown, but now almost all the second-class lodging-houses in

what is known as the Southern District have a room where smokers can 'hit the pipe.' This is perfectly lawful, as it has been decided that a man has as much right to smoke opium in his own room as he has to smoke tobacco. At any time of the day or night, young men, whose faces have lost all traces of health, and whose skin looks like wax; whose eyes have a lack-lustre appearance; whose forms have wasted



away until they are almost skeletons; whose countenances have lost all appearance of honesty—may be seen skulking, with the peculiar, light, rolling gait customary to the slaves of the pipe, towards the resorts where the opium is doled out by villainous-looking Chinese."

The Grand Jury, in their report in May, 1886, uses the following language:

"We much regret to find that the insidious and destructive vice of opium-smoking is increasing among the Chinese here, and by them being rapidly communicated to the lower classes of our white population. This presents a new and alarming social evil from which our country has hitherto been supposed to be exempt. Few recognize how widespread this evil has become in our midst. Judging the extent of its prevalence by the number of its victims, it is a vice which, in our opinion, calls for the most prompt and radical legislation possible to stamp it out."

If the good and Christian people east of the Rocky Mountains would but recognize the people on the west side as being equal to themselves in intellect, morals, culture and all the attributes that they themselves enjoy, they would profit by their experience and sufferings, and they would suspect that the presence of the Chinese among themselves is being disastrous to the morals and welfare of all who, by poverty or other causes, are brought in contact with them. In the city of New York the habit of smoking opium is rapidly increasing, and "opium joints" are in every ward in the city. In the crowded and dirty parts of the city they exist in great numbers. In Mott, Park, Pell and other streets where mixed races exist they may be found most abundantly. In Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans, St. Louis and other cities these opium dens exist to an extent unknown to the best citizens.

The Americans are Impelled to Excess in all Things.

Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards and other people in Southern Europe, with few exceptions, drink wine every day. In these countries but little drunkenness is seen. In Germany and Holland beer is the common beverage, with comparatively a small degree of intoxication.

On the other hand, in the United States, both wine and

beer-drinking are followed by the taking of alcoholic drinks of a stronger quality, and from this proneness to excess comes drunkenness and its attending evils. Americans do everything to excess. In fashion they are always in the extreme. Language is not strong enough to express their ultraism; they, therefore, add oaths, imprecations and curses. Time moves too slow with them. It follows that this nervous, excited, and ever-active mental condition seeks temporary support in stimulants and narcotics.

The Chinese, who are slower, less mentally active but persistent, and with greater command of themselves, rarely carry the opium habit to the ruinous extent Americans do; yet they are all made more depraved and vicious by the habit, and thousands are rendered wicked, malicious and murderous for many years; then they die as imbeciles.

Rescued from a Chinese Opium Den.

"New York, May 28.—A little girl, thirteen years old, named Maggie Westbridge, was discovered a few days ago in a Chinese laundry and opium joint in Brooklyn. Her father is dead and her mother lives with a Chinaman. The place is described by the police as an opium joint of the vilest character, numbers of young girls being induced to go there and smoke the fatal first pipe which leads to ruin. Maggie said yesterday that more girls frequented the place than men. They are all American girls, too."

The Guileless Heathen.

"NEW YORK, June 9.—The *Herald's* Boston special says: Nellie Gately, a pretty young girl who was found in the opium-den of Lung Wah in Cambridge, in a stupefied condition, last night, came before the local Court to-day. She said she went into the place to get her brother's collars, when she was seized by Chinamen, who thrust a lighted pipe into her mouth and compelled her smoke until she became unconscious. She was found in this condition when the police raided the den. Lung Wah was fined $30 and costs. The girl was discharged."

Slips like the foregoing may be cut from Eastern newspapers almost every day; but they do not attract the attention of the one-text ministers nor the solitary text Christian, whose mission on earth they conceive to be the neglect of their own race for the questionable salvation of heathen souls. Nor do they attract the notice of the editor or the merchant, for they are dreaming of the profits to accrue from an imaginary trade with China; nor the so-called statesmen, who have never risen above being groveling politicians. They are so much occupied with the politics of an island, containing not six millions of people, that they have not informed themselves of the important fact that the Pacific Coast is open to all the imported vices of 800,000,000 Asiatics. For the Irish vote they neglect their higher and nobler duties.

The officers of the law cannot enter the house of a German, Englishman or other foreigner and prevent the inhabitants thereof from smoking tobacco or opium. The United States Courts will not permit them to enter the houses of the Chinese to stop the opium-smokers. The legislatures and the municipal authorities of the Pacific States have enacted laws to meet every form of vice brought by the Chinese, and especially that of opium-smoking. Every efficient law made has been pronounced by the United States Courts as conflicting with treaties, or as contrary to the Constitution or laws of the United States.

To stay, or even keep within bounds, the opium habit, nothing but the expulsion from the United States of every Chinaman will suffice. In the towns and cities the Chinese

give to the young men and girls their first smokings without price. They invite them in as men do each other to drink. The first dozen smokes are a delight; the habit is formed; soon they wish to throw off the habit; it is impossible; no fiend ever held his victim in so tight a grasp! This the subtle Chinaman knows. The habit formed, the Chinaman has the profit of his investment. The young man or woman is his customer ever afterwards, and all they earn, he gets!

The United States Supreme Court Nullifies State and Municipal Legislation.

The most earnest prayers and supplications for relief from the evils of Asiatic immigration have, by petition, been presented before Congress. These have at times contained more than 50,000 signatures—petitions which might be measured in length as if they were miles. Congressmen from the Pacific States have appealed at every available opportunity to their fellows, but the majority, as also the weak and inefficient Presidents, have failed to take in the true situation. The people of California have declared, with greater unanimity than any people ever declared before upon any subject, that they wished to stay the invasion and get rid of the incubus. The Constitution of the State has been altered, and every form of legislative and municipal enactments have been made to lessen the spreading evils of the mongolian presence.

The United States Supreme Court has denounced the amendments to the Constitution, and declared the laws in conflict with existing treaties. The heel of the majority is upon the neck of the minority. These treaties exist by the might and power of numbers. The people of the Atlantic States want a trade with China, and for that they stamp the curse on the West.

That these people should be made acquainted with the grief and oppressions endured in the Pacific States, conventions have been held, statistics published, and every available means used to inform them. It is, therefore clear, that nothing but that inevitable destiny which will bring the like

evils to the people east of the Rocky Mountains, will ever make them comprehend the magnitude of the deep damnation which now dwells in California and the neighboring States.

The United States Supreme Court Declares a Fire Ordinance in Conflict with Treaties and the Constitution.

There are 320 laundries in San Francisco; 240 of these are conducted by Chinese. These laundries, to about the number of 310, are in wooden buildings, the majority of which are in a dilapidated condition, and are in places where, by their burning, much property in the neighborhood would be consumed. These wash-houses are used by the Chinese also for the purpose of smoking opium. When stupefied by the drug they are reckless, and fires are more frequent in such houses than in any others in the city. It is one of the peculiarities of this people that when a fire takes place they immediately run away as in a stampede, and abandon the premises to the flames.

Among the fire ordinances of the city is one forbidding wash-houses to be in frame buildings, unless specially authorized by the Common Council. For violating this ordinance Yeck Wo and Wo Lee were arrested by the Sheriff and convicted by a State Court. They appealed their case to the Supreme Court of the United States. Their attorneys filed their brief April 7th. Within thirty days after, the Supreme Court gave its decision in almost the exact language of the brief of the attorneys for the Chinese: "That the ordinance was a discrimination against the petitioners and all subjects of China, and contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment, Section 1977, United States Revised Statutes, Articles V. and VI. of the Treaty of 1868, and Articles II. and III. of the Treaty of 1881 between the United States and China."

Now the Chinese may keep their wash-houses in the most dilapidated condition, and, when stupefied by opium, set whole neighborhoods on fire. The city is forbidden to exercise municipal authority because the majority of wash-houses happen to be run by Chinese. The public judgment

will reverse that of the Supreme Court, and will declare the Court discriminates against the white citizens of the Pacific States.

In 1879 a convention was called, and the Constitution of the State was so amended as to guard the people, as far as practicable, from some of the Asiatic evils. The United States Courts declared these amendments to be in conflict with existing treaties and the Constitution of the United States. At this time, in order to express to the world the opinion of the people, the question of being in favor of Chinese immigration or against it was voted on by a full and separate vote—154,638 votes being cast against immigration and 883 votes in favor.

Seven years ago the people of California expressed, by a vote of 175 to 1, that they desired the Federal Government to protect them from Chinese immigration. The representatives from the Pacific have begged at every Congress that an efficient Restriction Act should be passed. The most important features of these have been vetoed by weak Presidents. Other acts of less efficiency have been made into laws. Alas! for California; the machinery to execute these laws are men who reflect Eastern not Western ideas; and the United States Courts, which interpret the laws and the treaties, are in accord with Eastern, not Western sentiment. Bound as the doomed martyrs were, California and the sister States and Territories of the Pacific can do nothing in self-defense that is not met and nullified by Federal Courts and authorities. Having exhausted every form of supplication to the general Government for protection against invasion, a settled despair now manifests itself in violence and riot.

The Process of Change.

The laborers of the Pacific Coast were the first to feel the scourge and to utter their protest. The laborers of the Eastern States will be the first to feel and resent the wrong that is now fast approaching them. The politicians, following the majority, became opponents to further immigration, exactly as all politicians in the Eastern States will in a short

time do. Editors saw the disastrous and demoralizing effect of the Asiatic presence, and changed their opinion, exactly as every editor in the eastern part of the United States will do when he studies the question. And, lastly, the ministers of the Gospel, finding they could not make angels out of mongols, as their Christian brethren in the East expect to, have come to the conclusion that a white man and woman's soul is quite as important to be saved as a Chinaman's.

When no more was known about the Chinese than is now known in the Eastern States, almost all Californians formed a good opinion of them. When all their vices, cunning and treachery became known, that favorable impression changed to detestation. The same intellectual revolution will occur in the Eastern States when the Chinese are fairly planted in the fields of labor.

The laws governing the human mind are uniform. Like causes, operating in like manner, produce like results. The people of the Pacific States have now been in intimate business and social contact with the Chinese for thirty-five years. The people east of the Rocky Mountains have had no such experience. Both of these sections contain a population of equal intelligence, morality and energy. When they of the lesser experience claim to know the most, does it not show that *gall and presumption* is part of their mental composition? The time will come soon enough when they may speak from experience; then they will also have changed their opinion. As the people of the Eastern States welcomed the sparrows, until they drove from the parks and the country the birds of beauty and song, and became destructive in the gardens and in the fields, and the same people wish to banish the sparrow; so the people of California now wish to banish a greater curse.

We may cry, Peace! Peace! But there can be no Peace under the Tyranny which Compels to Degradation.

In the fury of despair, do not all men and women turn upon the cause of their ruin? The very worm will turn upon the foot that treads upon it. No animal exists that will not

turn upon its oppressor. It is a law as fixed and unchangeable as any law of nature; it is an attribute of the mind of man and animals, and has been so from the beginning. Nothing but the impairment of the intellect can lessen the impulse to turn upon those who do you injury. The ministers who preach to the contrary will show resentment at any cause which injures them. The editor will seek to punch the head of a rival who has taken away the patronage from his paper. Professors are as intolerant as musicians, who teach harmony. And thus on through all men and animals.

In the archives of Philadelphia and Boston you will find the solemn pledges of each to the other, that certain of the citizens of these cities will not trade with those who do not condemn by word and deed, the stamp or other acts which concerned the interest of the colonist, and which the mother country sought to impose. *Was that not boycotting?* In the same archives you will find that mob violence was frequent, and that the property of innocent persons was thrown into the sea or otherwise destroyed. Were these "rioters," "hoodlums," the "floating scum of society?"

Among the sacred inheritances from our ancestors are boycotting and rioting in resistance to oppression. Why, there is not a shrimp in the Eastern cities who does not wish to trace his ancestry to one of these "boycotters" and "rioters."

Our ancestors of the Revolution committed every form of violence in their day, that has been committed on the Pacific Coast in our day. Their cause was bounded by the interest they had in trade and commerce. There was no physical and moral leprosy forced upon them; no bringing into their workshops a race to degrade labor; no opening of the ports to an invasion of corruption and base instincts such as the Federal Government now compels the Pacific States to submit to. The British Government introduced nothing to destroy the manhood and womanhood of the colonist, nor did they compel the acceptance of an alien race whose depravity taints the moral atmosphere, as does the Asiatic race in the Pacific States. The wrongs to the colonists concerned thrift, not morals! A monarchy could not commit a crime

of such magnitude. That was left for the democratic government the colonist created—a crime to be committed "under the name of liberty!"—a tyranny of the majority who vote on the other side of the Rocky Mountains over the minority who dwell on the Pacific side. The majority want the trade with China, and therefore the Pacific States must be morally damned! How patient the Pacific States have been to the wrongs received at the hands of the Federal Government, their long suffering has shown. Upon this subject the editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin* says:

"When the long, dark night of the Chinese slave incubus is taken into consideration, the historian at least will admit the general patience and self-restraint of our people. There are no instances for a long time of extreme violence toward the Chinese. When the fact is taken into consideration of the large numbers of women and helpless children who have been deprived of the sacred right to labor by this remorseless Chinese competition, and the strong men who have been reduced to the condition of tramps and outcasts, it will probably be suggested that no Christian could have borne his cross with greater resignation than the State of California. Such resignation was the direct offspring of trustfulness in the law, and the sure relief that is bound in time to be obtained through it.

"Men of long-range view will deal more kindly with the course of California, in connection with the form of slavery proposed to be thrust upon her, than many of the hasty critics of to-day. There is no change in the sentiment of the State as respects the future coming of the coolies. The vote of 154,638 against Chinese immigration to 883 in favor of it, reflects the sentiment of California to-day as truly as it did in 1879. There is no 'let up,' change or weakening on that point. The only division of opinion relates to the course which should be pursued toward the Chinese who are here now. It will be generally admitted that is a duty which every citizen owes to his State, to civilization and to his children, to do all in his power to put an end to the servile labor in California, and to bring her industrial condition into complete harmony with her sister States."

Thus Speaks the Greatest Statesman in the United States.

Of the senators from the States east of the Rocky Mountains, the first great man to comprehend the evils of Chinese immigration was the Hon. James G. Blaine.

On the 14th of February, 1879, when the bill restraining Chinese immigration was before the Senate, Mr. Blaine said:

"Either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific Slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start to day, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the inducements to come, while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, and it is inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific Coast.

"The immigrants that come to us from the British Isles and from all portions of Europe, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and hearts, and in customs and habits, as we ourselves have. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogeneous element.

"I am opposed to the Chinese coming here. I am opposed to making them citizens. I am unalterably opposed to making them voters. There is not a peasant cottage inhabited by a Chinaman. There is not a hearth-stone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or an Irish, or German or French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense; and yet you say it is entirely safe to sit down and permit them to fill up our country, or any part of it.

"Treat them like Christians, say those who favor their immigration; and yet I believe the Christian testimony is that the conversion of Chinese on that basis is a fearful failure; and that the demoralization of the white race is much more rapid, by reason of the contact, than is the salvation of the Chinese race. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beef, alongside of a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef and bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef and bread man to the rice standard.

"Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability, and put an odious cast upon it. It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States in the South; and this Chinese, which is worse than slave

labor, will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union, on the Pacific Coast.

"We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific Coast the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius."

Seven years since Mr. Blaine spoke thus, and every statement made by him is the exact truth of to-day. Compare this with the non-committal, double-meaning, pusillanimous utterances of the mugwumpian statesmen now in Congress; and with the undecided, milk-and-water productions of the Presidential cabinet.

The Federal Government, Subjecting the Pacific States to an Invasion from the Asiatic Races, should meet the Result.

Following the suggestions of Mr. Bayard, the Secretary of State; the President, in his message of March 1st, 1886, to the Congress of the United States, upon the Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, outrages, "brings the matter to the benevolent consideration of Congress, in order that that body, in its highest discretion, may direct the bounty of the Government in aid of the *innocent* and *peaceful strangers* whose maltreatment has brought discredit upon the country, with the distinct understanding that such action is in no wise to be held as a precedent. It is wholly gratuitous, and is resorted to in a spirit of pure generosity toward those who are otherwise helpless."

Such reasoning does more honor to the heart than to the head. Like violence done to American citizens in China, and we would demand an indemnity, as a matter of right! If we intend to reserve the right to demand restitution in damages, which may be done to American citizens when within the scope of Chinese authority, we should make proper payment of Chinese claims for indemnification.

But the absurdity of endeavoring to limit the good acts, "*with the distinct understanding that such action is in no wise to be held as a precedent,*" becomes manifest when you call to mind that in Seattle, and other towns in Washington Territory, Americans have destroyed the property of and expelled

the Chinese. The same has been done in Idaho and every Territory and State west of the Rocky Mountains. That at this time, there are a hundred causes for indemnification, and that the amount which the United States Congress should vote to pay the "innocent and peaceful strangers," because of interrupting their operations in rooting out of their places, in the factory and in the field, white men and women, in the aggregate will exceed five millions of dollars.

The violent expulsion, and destruction of property, and the damage done to the Chinese by stopping their operations at different places in the States and Territories of the Pacific, if not quite as flagrant, are yet sufficient to cause them to present claims which should open the United States Treasury; and, from their magnitude, open the eyes of Congressmen. All the claims rest upon the same basis. The distinction may be in degree, but not in kind. The payment of one calls for the payment of the other. A precedent necessarily becomes established as soon as one of them is paid.

The Federal Government, in its legislation for the supposed benefit of the Eastern and Middle states, has brought ruin and disaster on the Pacific States. A conflict between the races of Asia and Europe has been invited and encouraged by the Government; and the Pacific States are to suffer in its desolation. As the costs of war should be paid by those who cause the war, so they who initiate and direct a wrong should promptly meet the result of resistance.

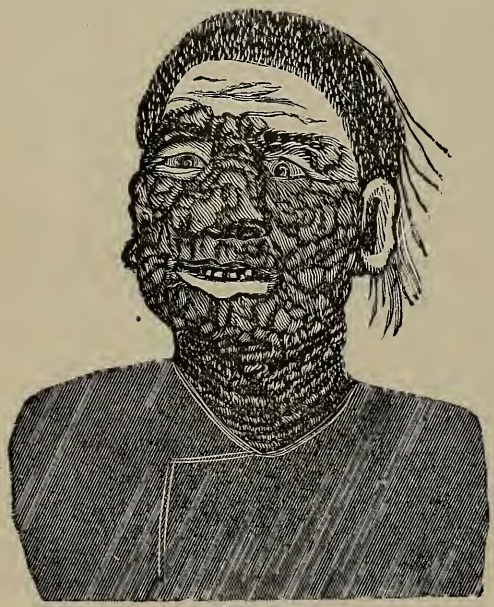
The condition of matters, briefly stated, is this: The Federal Government, after acquiring the Territories by the arms and the revenues derived from its own people, opened them for settlement to a race who could, by their civilization and intelligence, become citizens of the country. NATIVE BORN AND EUROPEANS WENT INTO THESE TERRITORIES AS "INNOCENT AND PEACEFUL STRANGERS," with the belief that they were to be protected by the National Government. They took with them their wives and children; they entered the forest or the prairie and subdued them to culture; they made comfortable homes in which to rear their families; they built school-houses and churches in which they could educate or worship as the

Christians of the highest civilization do; they built beautiful villages, towns and cities, and attained a degree of intelligence not surpassed by any State in the United States.

When our country most needed soldiers the Pacific States gave their sons to battle. When the treasury was bankrupt the States and Territories poured forth their treasures.

Now comes the Federal Government, in its desire to feed the avaricious commercial appetite of the East, and offers as a living sacrifice the Pacific States, and, by its supreme power, blasts the future of the most beautiful heritage of the American people.

A United States Commissioner is sent to China who negotiates a one-sided treaty—*idiotic* on the part of the United States; exceedingly *cunning* on the part of China. Now the ports of all Asia are open to emigration, and the ports of the United States all open to immigration. From countries whose populations are more than twice as great as the entire number of Europeans, they begin to pour hundreds of thousands of the most vicious men into the Pacific States and Territories. They come with leprosy, small-pox, syphilis,



A Chinese leper.

and the diseases and vices engendered by a depraved and corrupt existence. They bring with them prostitutes, not wives. Ages of deprivation have made it as nature that they can live on the cheapest of food, wear the most inexpensive apparel, occupy apartments by numbers equal to ten, where the white man considers the cubic space and air only proper for one; and they practice an economic existence so stinted that none with European blood can ever debase themselves to live as cheaply. With these small expenses for the necessaries of life they enter the fields of labor, prepared to work at prices which the European cannot exist upon. Not handicapped by the necessities of a family, or the expenses incident to a refined life, they can underwork all who live or dress in a proper manner. As they are impelled to gain by an avarice not paralleled in the human family, so they will work seven days in the week and over hours each day when it is more profitable for them to do so. Cunning to a degree before unknown, the Chinaman is only honest when honesty is seen to be the best policy. Thus, without the embarrassment of conscience or the expense of living, they enter into almost every mechanical trade or manufactory, and take from the European laborer the means of livelihood, and thus reduce him and all who depend upon him to want and suffering.

Mongolian Invasion of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

From a source of supply quite equal to the entire white population of the world, the Chinese have entered the labor fields of the Islands of the Pacific and driven the natives from their occupations.

The Hawaiian Islands, with whom we negotiated a reciprocity treaty, with a *view to future annexation, are now so much in the occupation of the Chinese as to preclude forever any nearer relationship.* Of the evils of the invasion of these Islands by the Chinese Mr. Schmidt discourses thus:

"The natives as a rule regard them with intense dislike and even hatred. Nor is this without reason; the Chinese have been a grievous injury to the native Hawaiians in many ways. Not only have they taken their places as laborers,

but they have constantly, by one and another means, been gaining possession of their landed property, until now vast tracts of the richest lands, particularly such as are fitted for rice culture, are in the hands of Chinese syndicates or individual owners, while the entire group of islands is dotted with Chinese homesteads. The native is by nature improvident and easy-going, and the Mongolian immigrants early learned the advantage of becoming money-lenders where there was such a profitable field for the pursuit of the profession. Land and stock soon passed into the hands of the Chinamen, and, worse than this, in some instances where a more than usual spirit of degradation prevails, the family relations of the native are also disrupted.

"There have been exceptional cases where Chinamen have married native women with the apparent intention of becoming permanent residents. The great majority, however, remain single, and whether working as laborers or proprietors, all entertain the same object, namely: to accumulate a fortune as soon as possible, and return with it to China.

"As common laborers, which is the status of most of the Chinese on the Sandwich Islands, they receive $1 per day, and board themselves upon a few cents' worth of rice a day. It is the difference in the cost of living, far more than in the rate of wages, which renders it impossible for a white laborer to compete with a Chinese in Hawaii."

At too late a period the Government is now trying to prevent the further entrance of the Chinese into the Islands. The Hawaiian Islands are even now a Chinese Colony so far as labor and productions can make them so.

White Laborers cannot exist in China; then, why permit Chinese Laborers to Degrade the Workmen of America?

Is it probable, or even possible, that a white laborer can work at the wages paid in China, even though he entered with that intention? Can any person conceive how an European could live on the small amount paid there for a day's labor? We cannot work as cheaply as the Chinese in our own country; surely, the white laborer could not exist in China. *Now, if white laborers cannot have an existence in China, why should the Chinese laborer have an existence in America by virtue of treaties?*

If American merchants and travellers are limited to certain districts in China, why should any greater extent of territory be allowed to Chinese merchants and travellers in America?

There are no American laborers now, nor can there ever be any in China.

There are but a very small number of American merchants now living in China, and their business is rapidly declining; so that in a little time they will surrender it to the Chinese capitalists, who can deal better with their own countrymen than the foreigner can.

If, then, neither American laborers, nor merchants, can have a profitable existence in China, why should we endure the corruption and demoralization attending the presence of the Chinese in the United States?

It is said that the first law of nature is self-protection; in the exercise of this, why should not Congress declare by one Act the exclusion of all the Chinese. If not all, then the most obnoxious—they who by their competition take from the workingman the means of subsistence?

The time is rapidly approaching when the necesities of the country will demand that no Chinese laborer shall occupy the place of a white laborer in the United States. The laboring men of the nation have felt already the degradation attending the Chinese presence; and they will express themselves to the discomfiture of every politician whose record is not clear and straightforward towards absolute exclusion.

The Political Parties must take a New Departure.

The old parties are upon the same platform; there are no living issues. The old Whig party had for its corner-stone a protective tariff; it followed that, inasmuch as the factories of the United States were for the most part in the North, the Whig party had the majority of its supporters in the North.

The old Democratic party had for the chief plank in its platform the doctrine of free trade; and, as the South desired to sell cotton at the highest price, and sought to

buy manufactured goods at the lowest price, it followed that Democracy had its majorities in the South. To the tariff was added the suppression of slavery; from thenceforward the Whig party was merged into that of the Republican party. On the free trade doctrine the South grafted secession.

Slavery is abolished, and the majority of the Democratic party now advocate a tariff in some modified form. It is true there are a few college professors and abstract reasoners, who have taken in more knowledge than wisdom, and who are like ships too heavily laden; they wallow in the waves of the sea, they cannot keep pace with passing events, and they arrive in port after all others and too late to make their cargoes available; such men believe in free trade. And there are some merchants who profit by importations; they believe in free trade. And there are some men who believe in free trade without knowing what it means; they have inherited the belief.

The ocean is a realm where free trade exists uninfluenced by protective tariffs; the cheapest and most effective labor becomes the dominant power upon its surface. The nation which raises coal, produces iron, and builds ships the cheapest, and has for its service the best seamen, at the lowest wages, has now the carrying trade of the world.

Tendencies of Trade and Manufactures towards Countries of the Cheapest Labor.

The law of the attraction of gravitation is not more inevitable in its tendencies, than that manufacturing will find the countries of the cheapest labor, provided that labor is efficient. The low wages upon which the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindostanese laborers subsist in their own country, will cause Asiatic and European capitalists to establish manufactories, and avail themselves of the profits of labor so far below that which is necessary for the subsistence of a white laborer. It is an error of the most serious importance, when the European overestimates his own power in the fields of trade and manufactures; and underestimates the qualities of perseverance, industry, cunning, the cheap mode of existence

and the capital which the Asiatic brings to the same fields in competition with him.

In the confidence that their position is forever fixed, and that they are too smart to be driven out of the markets of the world by such a contemptible and idiotic-looking race as the Mongolian, the Eastern manufacturer acts with the majority, and looks placidly at the defeat of the white manufacturer in the Pacific States. They cannot forget their own importance long enough to take in the more important truth, that Chinese capitalists command the cheapest labor in the world, at a percentage less than the same labor can be employed by Europeans.

Whom the Gods Destroy they first make mad.

As if it had been decreed that the time of the departure of the manufacturing industries of the country should be hastened, they who gain the means of living by the wages of their labor have made an organized attack on their employers, and sought to dictate terms and conditions to capital.

This is a most serious mistake; for on the one side capital is as "the Arab who silently folds his tent and steals away;" on the other side, the law governing the wages of labor is as fixed as the Divine law which compels men to labor. *If the demand for labor is increased, wages also increases; diminish the demand, or increase the number of laborers and the wages will decrease accordingly.*

The unfruitful strife between labor and capital, history has always shown, does terminate at last in this unchangeable rule: SUPPLY and DEMAND.

The laborer who becomes a Knight, or joins the Labor Union, has enlisted as the soldier, who can no more command his own actions or gratify his own desires.

A strike is ordered, he obeys even though his family be in a starving condition, and he himself has no cause or desire to strike. In the meantime, capital, not dependent upon any one investment, withdraws from manufacturing enterprises; or the owners of the factory closed by the strike, being tired of war with organized labor, seeks rest and

profit by removing the plant to Japan, or the seaport towns of Asia, where labor is the cheapest and most abundant.

The European Races are now Face to Face with the Asiatic Races.

The great contest which has been predicted of the meeting of the European and Asiatic civilization has commenced. The first success is scored by the Asiatics. What the termination will be is hidden from all. The fatalist may hope that the survival of the fittest will keep his posterity floating on the top. Unfortunately, the survival of what we believe are the fittest rarely takes place.

The truths of history declare that civilizations, which in their day and generation were as high above that of surrounding nations, as the European is above the Asiatic, were crushed out of existence and gave place to centuries of semi-barbarism.

An issue of greater magnitude than was ever presented to the American people is now approaching. A contest in the fields of manufacture is a contest for an existence, with the comforts, luxuries and enjoyment we have heretofore received. Unsuccessful, and we "sup sorrow with the poor."

The most enterprising, aggressive, and persevering, of the Asiatic races is now sending forth its millions to populate and command all the islands of the Pacific Ocean. In British Columbia they exceed the white men in numbers. The census of the city of Victoria shows, that the Chinese male population outnumber the white male population by one hundred and eleven. In that small city there are 3,180 Chinese, laboring and conducting business to the exclusion of an equal number of white producers.

The Mexican Government has invited immigration from China, and all the vessels arriving from Asia and landing in the western ports of Mexico are laden with coolies.

The adult male, or voting population of California number about 198,000. The Chinese number about 100,000.

The voting population of San Francisco is about 48,000. The Chinese in that city number between 30,000 and 40,000. The Chinamen throughout the State bear the relation of one

to every eight of a white population composed of men, women and children.

If all the Chinese in the United States were equally divided, according to the population, among the different States, California would have but 2,700 for her share; whereas, there are now more than 100,000 in the State. All facts and circumstances indicate that this must be true. There are no available means of telling how many Chinamen exist in the State. No census yet taken amounts to an approximation. As rats run away from the terrier, so do Chinamen flee from census takers and assessors.

The Custom House returns, the reports of Government officials, and the certificate of the Chinese minister or his subordinates, all may declare the number of Chinese as not increasing in this Republic, but the fact of increase exists notwithstanding, as every sense possessed by man, including his common sense, testifies to.

Chinatown in San Francisco visibly enlarges every month, so in like manner, every city in the Pacific and Atlantic States have more Chinamen in them now than they had one, two or three years ago.

Restriction not Practicable.

Wherever the Californian looks he finds Chinamen seeking to enter the United States. From British Columbia the Chinese find along the thousands of miles of boundary dividing it from the United States, many an opportunity to cross into the warmer and more flourishing States of the Union. From Mexico they cross the dividing line and enter the United States at any place between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

Will any Restriction Act now passed, or that may be made into a law, prevent the Chinese from landing in Mexico or British Columbia, and then, at any favorable opportunity, enter into the United States? Restrict the rats that enter the granary from coming by water, and ask the owner thereof to be contented with the restriction; demand that he keep all the rats he now has, and if they want to go visiting to a distant country, give them a certificate to come back and

feed again on his grain; open up two long lines of ingress by land, through which the rats may enter the granary. This is restriction as understood by the United States Congress. Stop the gophers from coming by water into the field of the farmer; make him keep all the gophers he has now on his land; but let the long line of boundary between his property and that of his neighbor be open to their ingress. This is restriction as understood in the Atlantic States.

To evade the execution of the restriction laws the Chinese enter British Columbia, not that they intend to live in that cold and inhospitable climate, but that they may pass the boundaries into a warmer climate without molestation from government officials. The bounties paid by the Mexicans to the companies who bring coolies to that country, has started a tide of emigration from Asia, which will cause riot and bloodshed in every city in Mexico as soon as the novelty has worn away and the evil of their presence is realized; for the Mexicans are quick to anger, and expulsion by violence will be attempted by them.

Should the United States Government place a cordon of officials as close together as the posts of a fence, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, and on the border line between the British Possessions on the north and the Mexican Possessions on the south, the Chinese would find a means of entrance, as do rats—when you have closed one hole, they will burrow or find another.

Only a practiced eye can distinguish one Chinaman from another, and this similarity enables them so to interchange with each other, that even the greatest precaution taken by officials will not prevent their passing the guards.

The Republican and Democratic Parties have Outlived their Issues and their Usefulness.

They should cease to exist and an honorable burial be accorded to them.

The events of the day are now pressing the most important issues ever presented to the American people. A home party must be created to meet these issues. The foundation, strength and platform of this party must rest on existing

facts, not looking to the past but to the future. Facts such as these, that the good tillable land now in possession of the National Government is not adequate in amount to the giving of 160 acres of land to every male in the United States under the age of twenty years.

That large districts of country, such as lie between the Sierras and the Rocky Mountains, are barren for want of a proper amount of rainfall.

That large districts in the Territories are swamp and irreclaimable land.

That other land, such as found in Alaska, is not available, because of the Winter's cold.

That as soon as there is no more Government land to relieve the surplus of laborers in the cities of the United States, then the condition of the laborer will rapidly approach that of the laborer in the cities of Europe.

When the laborer from a European city emigrates he relieves the pressure of the labor market of that city to the extent of his influence. So, each laborer who takes up a farm relieves the labor market of the city he has heretofore labored in.

What Americans have attributed to a superior form of government, should to a very great extent be credited to the existence of an abundance of good, tillable land, which could be had for the very small consideration demanded by the government.

Within a very few years and there will be no more such land. When that time arrives the labor market will have no relief, and the test of the superiority of this Government to others will have come.

There is nothing in the Constitution or form of our government to prohibit the acquisition of large tracts of land by the rich. Nor is there anything to prevent the exact condition and relation of labor to capital as now exists in Europe.

It is true, a titled aristocracy may not be honored, but we will bow down to a moneyed aristocracy all the same.

When the public lands all enter into private ownership then their price will rise above that which the poor man can

pay, and the condition of America will soon become as that of Europe.

The Founders of this Republic did not Declare America was to be the Home of the Oppressed of all Nations.

That was the invention of the "Fourth of July orators," and a most pernicious creation it is. For the opening of our ports to the entrance of all the oppressed means, that we will admit the rankest compound of villanous wretches, ever conceived, born and nurtured in the baseness, ignorance and depravity, engendered by centuries of want and oppression. It means that we will admit all colors and qualities of men. It means that our country shall become densely populated with mixed races, and then fall from her high estate. As against impending evils, whose shadows are now cast before them, we should "take arms against a sea of troubles, and, by opposing, end them." To this end let the laborer, mechanic, merchant, and all join, having one great and important mission. Let them sever the allegiance to the political parties of the past, and bring to the ballot box the power and strength of unity; *and, as the home party, let them declare positive and complete exclusion of all Asiatic laborers from the labor fields of America. Draw the line distinct and clear on the issue of exclusion as against its negative, and it will be found the laborers and mechanics of America understand the evil of the Chinese presence better than they who belong to the learned professions, and that by the power of the ballot they will compel the removal of the Chinese from among us.*

As in the past, the pulpit will loudly proclaim its dissent to measures so effectual, and the press will cast its influence with all the force and influence which type can exert against exclusion. But these are on the surface of the stream; beneath there is the power of numbers—*the silent, undemonstrative intelligence and force of the mechanic and laborer, the great "undertow," which, by the exercise of the ballot, commands the destinies of the State.*

The laborers and mechanics in every district of the nation have sympathized with their brethren on the Pacific Coast

in the degradation brought upon them by the competition with Chinese labor, and they fully recognize the evils brought upon themselves by the importation of laborers from the most ignorant and depraved countries of Europe.

The Necessities of our Children Demand That the Ports be Closed.

This nation has already received too many of the poor, ignorant, and criminal from the States of Europe. They seriously affect the morals and the politics of the country; and the time has arrived when the ports of the nation should be closed against all who cannot by their presence add to the intelligence, wealth and morality of the commonwealth.

The most intelligent, thrifty and moral do not as a general proposition or rule leave the country of their birth to seek a home in foreign lands. They who have these qualities and do emigrate are the exceptions to this rule.

The capacity to absorb and digest becomes less as the public land diminishes in quantity. When the overplus of laborers cannot find homes in the unoccupied and low priced lands of the country, then the laborer in the crowded cities exists as in a perpetual battle for life against a competition so numerous and so stricken by the ills of poverty, that in the end his manhood sinks to the level of that of the immigrant.

This commonwealth, possessing no more land as an outlet and as an assistant in the absorption and digestion of the ignorant and depraved who come within its territory, will become as the Dead Sea, which cannot discharge the wash and abominations brought by the Jordan from the hills and the valleys.

Upon this subject the Rev. Heber Newton thus discourses: "The State should regulate our foreign immigration. We have received between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 immigrants in half a century, and over 4,000,000 in the last decade. This immigration has tended largely towards our great manufacturing centers, which it still further clogs with a surplus of labor, depressing wages and lowering the demand, on which production depends, thus leading to a shrinkage of the profits. Plainly we need either to restrict our immigra-

tion or to organize a distribution in the interests of the nation. There should be stringent legislation as to the financial ability and general character of those we ask to become citizens of our great Republic, if we desire that Republic to live. Without any question, it is high time that the law already passed two years ago by Congress, prohibiting the importation of cheap foreign labor, under contract, should be vigorously enforced. It is a monstrous wrong that unscrupulous capital should be allowed to rake the cheapest labor of the Old World for material with which to fight our American workingmen."

Place the issues squarely before the people, not as tagged on to the professions of either or both of the present political parties, but as presented by a home party, it being the most important question ever submitted to the people of this country.

First—Expulsion and absolute exclusion of all Chinese laborers from the United States.

Second—Prohibition for all future time of entrance into the United States of all foreigners, whether European or Asiatic, whose presence will tend to degrade the workingmen of the country, and all who have not in their own country sustained an honorable record of intelligence, thrift and morality. The laborers and mechanics are prepared to vote for the closing of the ports as against the most obnoxious immigrants, Asiatic or European, and when the question comes to a vote they will sustain their opinion by immense majorities.

The Welfare of this Nation Demands that its People shall be Homogenous, and that a Mixture of Races within its Borders be No longer Tolerated.

That most stupid piece of diplomacy ever placed on record, known as the Burlingame Treaty, gives to the Chinese all that is obtained by the people of the most favored nation. All there is in it that relates to the immigration of Coolie labor is: "*The high contracting parties agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subject to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or any other foreign country; or for a Chinese subject, or*

citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United Stutes to China or any foreign country without their free and voluntary consent, respectively."

It is a fact supported by direct and circumstantial evidence, that more than ninety per cent. of the Chinese laborers in America are here by contracts made before their departure from Asia with companies and capitalists, and that these contracts are so binding and unbreakable; that it is doubtful if there can be a case found wherein the laborer has broken the bond and made himself a free man.

The Chinese women, on the other hand, were purchased at a price in Asia and brought over by contract and sold for a price after arrival in the United States.

Nearly all the Chinese in America came through the English port of Hongkong. The contracts were probably made there. If that treaty provided for the immigration of Coolies, contract labor and slaves, the Chinese may possess some claims of being rightfully here. But the treaty should instantly be burned as a monstrous crime against the American people.

In the other view, if the Chinese as bondsmen are here without the authority of that treaty (there being nothing in the treaty relating to the matter) then expulsion should follow their illegal presence.

The American People in the Pacific States are there by Rights Superior to those of the Mongolian.

They went there to open up the wilderness to cultivation. They put forth their strength and it now blossoms with the rose. They have made homes, beautified cities, and planted prosperity on the western shores of the nation.

The National Government, responding to Eastern views and sentiment upon a subject which most affected the West, has exposed all these beautiful creations of their industry and skill to an immigration which has all the qualities of a conquering invasion.

By the action and non-action of the government, labor has been dishonored and debased by a compulsory competition with the bonded labor of Coolies.

By the same power which compels the Pacific States to endure the Mongolian presence, all their vices and diseases are maintained in these States, and the rising generation, now children of great promise, are being corrupted by contact with moral and physical leprosy.

By the ignorance, or the willful ignoring of existing facts, and by the morbid sentimentalism and the romantic attachment of the many, the Chinese are sustained.

The demonstrative portion of the people in the East are not willing to understand, that the trade and manufactures of the west coast of America is passing out of the hands of their countrymen into the hands of the Chinese.

These events taking place in one part of the Union, supported and maintained by the people in another part of the Union, calls for what ?

Shall the American citizens on the Pacific Coast sink into a condition of "Innocuous Desuetude" before "the peaceful and innocent strangers" of President Cleveland ?

Or shall they resent the wrongs by practicing boycotting and other like measures as the patriot fathers of the revolution did ? Or shall they whilst protesting against the tyranny of the National Government, and of the majority who sustain that government, enter into riot and mob violence as did the early revolutionist when protesting against British tyranny ?

They who are in high places, and are the rulers of the nation, should be men whose intelligence, capacity, and grandeur is commensurate with the necessities which now exist, and which will hereafter arise to a greater degree as the coming events cast their shadows over the manufacturing States of the Union.

In the meantime they who are in power should in justice, in mercy, and in Christian charity towards members of their own race remove the cause of dissension and strife from the Pacific States. Accepting as an established and an unavoidable fact, that no Federal or State laws—no Federal or State executive force, no potency beneath the stars can compel the two races to exist together in harmony.